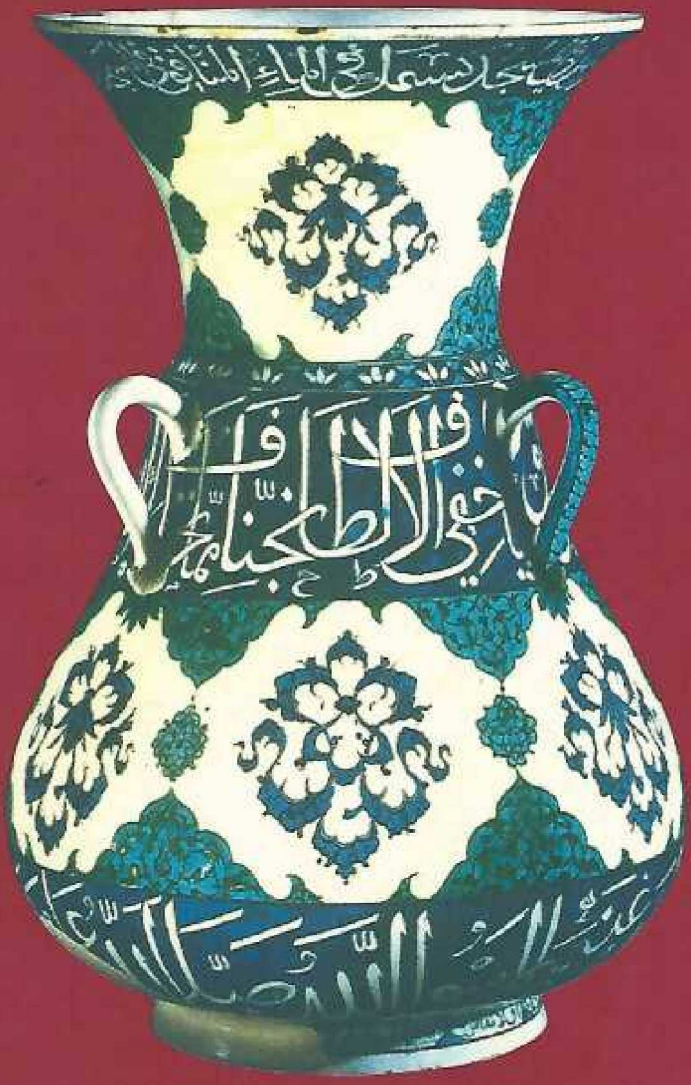

SUFISM IN JAVA

THE ROLE OF THE PESANTREN IN THE MAINTENANCE OF SUFISM IN JAVA

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JAKARTA – INDONESIA

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"Lampu Mesjid", ditemukan di Mesjid Umar di Jerusalem pada tahun 1865. Lampu ini dibuat sebagai bagian dari renovasi Mesjid Qubbat aṣ-Ṣakhrah, atas dorongan Sultan Sulaiman Agung pada pertengahan abad ke-16.

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by

Zulkifli

Seri INIS XL

INIS
Leiden - Jakarta 2002

Perpustakaan Nasional: Katalog Dalam Terbitan (KDT)
Sufism in Java : the role of the pesantren
in the maintenance of sufism in Java / by
Zulkifli. -- Jakarta : INIS, 2002.
105 hlm. : 23,5 cm. -- (Seri INIS : 40).

Bibliografi : hlm. 95
ISBN 979-8116-63-1

1. Islam -- Aliran dan sekte. I. Judul.
II. Seri.

297.8

Redaksi Ilmiah : W.A.L. Stokhof
Jacob Vredenbregt
E. van Donzel

Redaksi Jakarta : Ahmad Seadie
Ruslan

Leiden : Dick van der Meij

Redaktur yang bertanggung jawab untuk buku ini: W.A.L. Stokhof dan Dick van der Meij

SERI INIS

Buku ini diterbitkan dalam rangkaian Kerja Sama Studi Islam Indonesia – Belanda (Indonesian - Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies –INIS-) *yang telah disesuaikan dan diperbarui* antara Departemen Agama / Institut Agama Islam Negeri, Indonesia, dengan Jurusan Bahasa dan Kebudayaan Asia Tenggara dan Oseania, Universiteit Leiden, Belanda. Rangkaian terbitan ini diarahkan kepada distribusi publikasi penting dalam bidang studi Islam di Indonesia.

Hak Cipta 2002 INIS
Leiden - Jakarta

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Foreword

by: James J. Fox

This book by Zulkifli Zul Harmi offers a privileged glimpse of into the workings of sufism in Java. It was originally written and submitted as an MA thesis at the Australian National University and is partially based on Zulkifli's own personal experience of *pesantren* education in Java. The book thus marks a stage in a continuing intellectual development. After completing his study in Australia and returning to teach at the IAIN Raden Fatah in Palembang, Zulkifli has taken up new research for a PhD at Leiden University.

This book is about sufism but it is worth noting that the use of the term, sufism, (or, in Indonesian, *sufisme*) did not gain much currency in Indonesia until the early 1980s. As a borrowed term, sufism is variously used to refer to *taṣawwuf*, a complex body of mystic and devotional learning and associated rituals and *tarīqah* (or *tarekat*), diverse groups whose purpose has been to promote ritual methods of devotion. The chief locus for both of these elements is Java's network of the *pesantren*, local Islamic schools, each of which is organized around the figure of a particular scholar and teacher who is referred to, in Javanese, as a *kyai*.

All of these elements are admirably examined by Zulkifli in this book. The book provides a basic understanding of the main features of the *pesantren* and of the combined notion of *tasawwuf-tarekat* in Indonesia as fostered through the *pesantren*. More than this, however, the book focuses on key religious figures in the history of Islam on Java. It examines the historical importance of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib who originated from Sambas in Kalimantan. As a teacher at Masjid al-Harām in Mecca, Shaykh Ahmad Khatib is credited with founding Tarekat Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah, itself a fusion of the separate Qādiriyyah and Naqshabandiyyah *tarekat*.

Shaykh Ahmad Khatib initiated various Indonesian *kalifah* for Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah: 1) his most illustrious pupil and eventual successor, Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim, whose line of succession is carried on in the Pesantren of Mranggen and al-Falak, 2) Shaykh Ahmad Hasbullah whose line of succession is continued in Pesantren Darul Ulum in Rejoso, Jombang and 3) Shaykh Tolhah whose line is continued in Pesantren Suryalaya in Tasikmalaya.

For *tarekat*, the acknowledged transmission of authority over generations is central to the perpetuation of a set of religious teachings and devotional methods. Matters become more complex where the teachings of *tasawwuf* have been transmitted from teacher to student without either being

a member of a particular *tarekat*. This possibility has always existed in Indonesia and indeed the very foundations of Islam on Java are attributed to the teaching of *Sufi* teachers.

Zulkifli subtly addresses this issue of the transmission of *taṣawwuf* teachings in his discussion of the importance of scholars such as Shaykh Nawawi Banten, Shaykh Mahfudh Tremas and Kyai Khalil Bangkalan. Both Shaykh Nawawi and Shaykh Mahfudh taught at Masjid al-Ḥarām. Shaykh Nawawi was in fact a student of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib. Both are reported to have taught and practiced the rituals associated with *taṣawwuf* but neither became a member of a *tarekat*. The same is true of Kyai Khalil who was a major influence on a generation of distinguished Javanese *kyai*. Thus the teachings of *taṣawwuf* in Java have always been held in highest regard whether or not they have been transmitted via *tarekat*.

A particular value of this is Zulkifli's comparison of two of the most important *pesantren* in Java, Pesantren Tebuireng in East Java and Pesantren Suryalaya in West Java, focusing on the intellectual position of their founders and role assigned to Tarekat Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah in each institution. This is as much a contrast as a comparison and gives useful indications of different personal approaches of distinguished *kyai* in relation to similar issues. Both the founder of Pesantren Tebuireng, Kyai Hashim Ash'ari who was later in life referred to as Hadrah al-Shaykh ("The Great Shaykh") and the founder of Pesantren Suryalaya, Shaykh Abdullah Mubarak, who became known as Abah Sepuh ("The Old Abah"), studied for a time with Kyai Khalil in Bangkalan. Both *kyai* also went on to study at al-Ḥarām in Mecca.

Kyai Hashim Ash'ari studied under Shaykh Ahmad Khatib and Shaykh Nawawi but was particularly devoted to the teachings of Shaykh Mahfudh. Thus Kyai Hashim Ash'ari was influenced by *Sufi* ideas and is said to have drawn on practices from different *tarekat* – rituals from Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah and *wirid* from Tijānniyyah -- but his *pesantren* never became a *tarekat* centre. Rather it promoted the nearby Pesantren of Rejoso in this position within East Java.

By contrast, Kyai Abdullah Mubarak studied with Shaykh Tolhah in Cirebon and with Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim, Shaykh Ahmad Khatib's successor in Mecca. His education was deeply involved with the principal proponents of Tarekat Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah. Eventually in 1908, at the age of 72, he became successor of Shaykh Tolhah as Shaykh of Tarekat Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah. Pesantren Suryalaya became a *pesantren* centre for this *tarekat*, a position that it has maintained until the present. Zulkifli engagingly describes the teachings and rituals of Tarekat Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah, thus providing further insights into the distinctive traditions of a major *pesantren*.

Zulkifli's work, it should be noted, belongs within a succession of studies in anthropology at the Australian National University that have been directed to an understanding of Java's *pesantren* traditions. The first of these studies was that by Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *The Pesantren Tradition: A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java*, which was submitted as a PhD thesis in 1980. This study was translated into Indonesian and published as *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai* in 1982 and has since been reissued in several subsequent editions. It has also been published in English in its entirety with a slightly altered title, *The Pesantren Tradition: The Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of Traditional Islam in Java*, by Arizona State University Press in 1999. In his study, Zulkifli has drawn on Dhofier's research for his information on Kyai Hashim Ash'ari and Pesantren Tebuireng.

Following Zulkifli, another IAIN student, Dindin Solahudin from Bandung, has written a valuable MA thesis entitled *The Workshop for Morality: The Islamic Creativity of Pesantren Daarut Tauhid in Bandung, Java*, which he submitted in 1996. This study deals with the unusual Pesantren Daarut Tauhid and the role of its young charismatic founder, Abdullah Gymnastiar. It is a remarkable portrait of a period of Islamic revival in the urban setting of Bandung.

Yet another study of an influential *pesantren* is to be found in Abdul Gaffar Muhaimin's ANU PhD thesis, *The Islamic Traditions of Cirebon: Adat and Ibadat among Javanese Muslims* submitted in 1995. This thesis looks at Pesantren Buntet, which was once a centre for Tarekat Shaṭṭāriyyah but has now become a major centre for Tarekat Tijāniyyah, the fastest growing *tarekat* in Indonesia. This thesis has been translated into Indonesian and published as *Islam Dalam Bingkai Budaya Lokal: Potret Dari Cirebon* in 2001. One of the interesting features of this study is its examination of the intellectual foundations of Pesantren Buntet and its changing relationship to the practice of sufism. All of these studies, including Zulkifli's, trace the relationship between fundamental religious ideas and their expression in practice on Java. They also highlight the distinctiveness of Indonesia's Islamic traditions at the same time as they underline Indonesia's profound connectedness with the wider Islamic world.

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Acknowledgements

This book is derived from my MA thesis which was submitted to the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, the Australian National University in 1994. Herewith I would like to express my many thanks for all the help and assistance I received during my study at the ANU and the writing of this thesis.

The thesis has grown out of an academic effort that has been nourished by the support, encouragement and advice of many people to whom I am grateful. I shall record the great debt I owe the Australian government, especially the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AIDAB) for the scholarship I have received for two years, and my thanks to all AIDAB officials for assistance given to me. I am also greatly indebted to Professor James J. Fox, my supervisor, who invited me to study anthropology at the Australian National University. Since the year of my course work in 1992, I have benefited from his guidance and supervision which extended my understanding of the Anthropology of Islam. While I was writing my thesis he not only offered valuable criticisms and suggestions on the content of my thesis but tirelessly corrected my English mistakes as well. In regard to English problems, I also express my gratitude to Katy Bellingham for her assistance. I am also grateful for the help given by Dr Douglas Miles who was my second supervisor before he left this university. My gratitude is also expressed to Dr Nicholas Peterson who gave suggestions during my course work. My thanks also go to all staff members of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, and the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, who always offered help during my studies. I owe special thanks to Pak Achdiat Kartamihardja who permitted me to use his personal collections on Pesantren Suryalaya. Last, but not least, is my gratitude to my wife, Ai Juariah Zulkifli, who patiently accompanied me to Canberra and gave her personal encouragement, and I also thank her for assistance in translating a Sundanese text.

The publication of this book has been made possible by the efforts of the head and staff of the Indonesian-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies (INIS), both in Leiden and Jakarta. I am very grateful to Professor W.A.L. Stokhof, Dr N.J.G. Kaptein, Dr Dick van der Meij and Rosemary Robson-McKillop (BA Hons.) in Leiden and to Professor Jacob Vredenbregt and Ahmad Seadie in Jakarta for their great efforts to publish this book. It goes without saying however that it is my sole responsibility if mistakes are found in this book.

Zulkifli

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

A. General Features of *Pesantren*

The theme of this book is a consideration of Sufism in Java, concentrating on the role of the *pesantren* in the maintenance of this form of Islamic practice in Java. Generally, in Java the *pesantren* are known foremost as traditional Islamic educational institutions. In this disquisition the term *pesantren* is not confined to the narrow limits of an educational institution or Islamic boarding school, even though the main function of the *pesantren* emphatically does lie in the fields of education and teaching. Within the context of this discussion, the *pesantren* is understood as a religious and as a socio-cultural institution. This is in accordance with K. H. Saifuddin Zuhri's explication which has been followed by Dhofier, regarding the *pesantren* as *'benteng pertahanan ummat Islam'* (fortresses for the defence of the Islamic community) and *'pusat penyebaran Islam'* (centres for the dissemination of Islam) (Zuhri 1981: 616; Dhofier 1982: 7). As far as I can see this interpretation does not contradict the fact that the *pesantren* is a 'sub-culture', a term proposed by K. H. Abdurrahman Wahid. By this Wahid means that the *pesantren* is a unit of Javanese culture which has its own characteristics which work it off from Javanese culture as a whole (1988: 39-60). As Wahid himself is aware this is an over-generalisation of the varieties and complexities of *pesantren*. As cultural institutions *pesantren* function to maintain and develop '*pesantren* culture', a concept which is necessary to achieve an understanding of the virtues of *pesantren*.

Very little is known about the origins of *pesantren* in Java. Madjid speculates that the beginnings of *pesantren* in Java can be regarded as a continuation of the system of *zāwiyah* or *khanāqah* in the Middle East, namely, places where followers of Sufi orders stopped and practised *dhikir* (*al-dhikr* 'remembrance of God'). Like *zāwiyah*, *pesantren* developed and evolved into fully fledged Islamic educational institutions (1988: 104). Acknowledging the powerful contribution of the role of Sufis in the process of Islamisation in Java, the Islamic institution that they first established in imitation of a *zāwiyah* or *khanāqah* grew into a centre of Sufi teachings. Once established, this institution then taught various branches of Islamic knowledge which were thought indispensable to their spiritual development by its followers. In this context it is important to recall the widely held belief that Islam was brought to Java by the so-called *Wali Sanga* (the Nine Saints). Although little is known

about the early development of *pesantren*, many Javanese scholars seem to believe that the *Wali Sanga* were their founding fathers. Haji Abu Bakar Atjeh writes:

> Shaykh Mawlana Malik Ibrahim, known as Shaykh Maghribi, from Gujerat, India is regarded as the founder of the first *pesantren*. The *pesantren* produced Muslim preachers who spread the holy religion throughout Java (1958: 43).

Dhofier argues that as early as the fifteenth century there may have been Islamic institutions from which *pesantren* originated (1984: 20). Wahid assumes that the tradition of Islamic instruction in *pesantren* began in the thirteenth century thus being co terminus with the coming of Islam (1984: 7).

This does not go unchallenged. Van Bruinessen is certain that institutions which might appropriately be called *'pesantren'* did not exist before the eighteenth century. He argues that there is no reliable evidence for the existence of *pesantren* before Pesantren Tegalsari in Ponorogo, East Java, which is the oldest *pesantren* for which there is a foundation date. It was established in 1742. He points out that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries religious instruction was most likely to have been given in mosques, palaces, hermitages and at holy graves (1992b: 76-77). This view does not necessarily contradict other views if we imagine that in its early years *pesantren* were very much similar to what they are today.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century *pesantren* have been important objects of study. Even today still no comprehensive account of what a *pesantren* is exists because the large variety of *pesantren* makes such study a gargantuan task. The earliest scholar who conducted research on *pesantren* was probably Brumund who raises the topic in his account of the educational system in Java in 1857. Brumund was then followed by other scholars, including missionaries. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Van den Berg (1886) carried out a survey of the *pesantren* in Java. Raden Ahmad Djajadiningrat (1908), the *bupati* (Regent) of Serang (1901-1917), also wrote an account of *pesantren* life and its traditions in Banten, West Java. Recently there have been a number of studies on *pesantren* complemented by studies on Javanese religion and society which include the development of traditional Islamic institutions.

An understanding of the *pesantren* in Java only became widespread in Indonesia with the publication of Dhofier's PhD thesis (1982). This historical and ethnographic book, which focuses on the roles of the *kyai* in the maintenance and spread of the traditional ideology of Islam, is one of the most complete accounts of *pesantren* available. Reviewing the book, Shohibul Hikam (1982) credited it with being the first book that concentrates on

traditional Islam which is often neglected, since scholars in Indonesia have generally paid greater attention to 'modern' Islam.

Although some critiques have been levelled at Dhofiers study, in this introduction it is important to note the basic elements of a *pesantren* as Dhofier describes them. Generally it can be said that there are five basic elements constituting a *pesantren*, namely *pondok*, *mesjid*, *pengajaran kitab kuning*, *santri* and *kyai*. *Pondok*, which varies from one pesantren to another, is a hostel where students (*santri*) live together. *Mesjid* (mosque) is the centre of Islamic education in the *pesantren*. In the overwhelming majority of instances, the establishment of a *pesantren* originates from the founding of the mosque, which is a place where *santri* perform Islamic rituals, learn to read and digest *kitab kuning* ('yellow books' or books in Arabic script) and so forth. Traditionally, a *pesantren* teaches an exposition of classical Islamic books by the system of *sorogan* (individual system of learning) and *bandongan* or *wetonan* (group system of learning). Today, secular subjects are taught and the *madrasah* (classical) system is used. *Santri* or the students of a *pesantren* are generally classified into *santri mukim* or those who stay in the hostel and *santri kalong* or those who come to the *pesantren* to study and return to their own home after a day's study. The *Kyai* is the essential element of *pesantren*. He is the pivot who decides all the activities pursued in the *pesantren* (Dhofier 1982: 44-60). In any attempt to understand its complexity and working it is very important to remember that the *pesantren* tradition has to be understood as a dynamic institution actively functioning and adapting to meet contemporary requirements.

B. Sufism

In this thesis Sufism is understood in its broadest sense, which is far broader than what is understood by most Western scholars as 'Muslim Mysticism'. At the basis of Sufi teachings lie both asceticism (including piety and devotion) and mysticism. Sufis can be classified into individual Sufis who are not affiliated to a Sufi order and those affiliated with a Sufi order. Both individual Sufi and those affiliated with an order intermingle and being one or the other is not mutually exclusive. In this book the role of *pesantren* in the maintenance of Sufism in Java involves an examination of the way *pesantren* function to maintain Sufism in terms of individual Sufism and Sufi orders as well as to preserve some aspects of asceticism and mysticism in Java.

Asceticism was the origin of Sufism. In the early development of Sufism ascetics were called *ahl al-Suffah* (literally 'people of the Verandah') which is a reference to some of the Prophet's Companions who were:

> ... actively inspired to attain a similar knowledge of the Divine Presence, and who were often mentioned in the Traditions for their piety and ascetic tendencies (Al-Attas 1963: 5).

Neither the term Sufism nor *ṭarīqah* actually appeared during this period. *'Nussāk'* (pl. form of *nāsik*), *''ubbād'* (pl. form of *'ābid*), or *'zuhhād'* (pl. form of *zāhid*), which can be translated as 'ascetics' or 'devotees', are the terms usually applied to those who practised such a way of life (Abdullah 1990: 82). Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 728), Ibrāhīm ibn Adham (d. 778), and Rabī'ah al-Adawiyyah (d. 801) are some early ascetic figures (Abdullah 1990: 82). Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) was the most important figure who succeeded in reconciling Sufism with orthodoxy and is regarded as the founder as well as the protector of Sunni Sufism (Abdul Muis 1985: 22). Therefore, Sunni Sufism is sometimes known as '*taṣawwuf* al-Ghazālī' (Sufism of al-Ghazālī) because of his great influence on its teachings (Dahlan 1991: 29). Fazlur Rahman writes:

> The influence of al-Ghazālī in Islam is uncalculable. He not only reconstituted orthodox Islam, making Sufism an integrated part of it, but also was a great reformer of Sufism, purifying it of un-Islamic elements and putting it at the service of orthodox religion. As such he represents a final step in a long developing history. Sufism received, through his influence, the approval of *Ijmā'* or consensus of the community (Rahman 1979: 140).

A later development of Sufism lay in the field of mysticism. Commonly this is strongly associated with philosophical or speculative Sufism because it originated when Islamic civilisation had developed and its adherents had had the chance to observe various streams of Greek philosophy. Muḥyi al-Dīn al-'Arabī (d. 1240) was the greatest Muslim mystic when Islamic mysticism reached its zenith. The central core of his Sufi teachings is the doctrine of *wahdah al-wujūd* or 'the unity of Existence', which basically expresses the Sufi denial of all existence but God (Al-Attas 1963: 10).

The Sufis described above were not organised into particular organisations. They were individual Sufis. In the thirteenth century Sufi orders (brotherhoods) began to emerge. In Southeast Asia this process is sometimes called '*taṣawwuf tarekat*' (Abdullah 1990a: 146). Trimingham views it as an institutionalisation of the Sufi schools which had derived from Sufi resting-places named *ribāṭ*, *zāwiyah*, or *khanāqah* (1971: 5-10). Trimingham's account is one of the most comprehensive books on the history of Sufi orders and includes almost all of them since the early days of their establishment. Some famous Sufi orders are the *Qādiriyyah* Order attributed to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī (d. 1166), the *Rifā'iyyah* Order deriving from Aḥmad ibn Al-Rifā'ī (d. 1182) and the *Naqshabandiyyah* Order associated with Muḥammad Bahā' al-

Dīn al-Naqshabandī (d. 1389) but there are also many others (Trimingham 1971: 14). Certain chief Sufi orders branched into numerous corporations (Trimingham 1971: 103) and two or more Sufi orders were united.

Discussing the development of Sufism Gilsenan writes about the two main streams:

> The first, beginning in the early centuries after the Prophet Muhammad's death, is that individuals who felt a call to the mystical or devotional life. The second ... is the corporate pursuit of the 'way', the *ṭarīqa* (pl. *ṭuruq*), by groups of Muslims who came together in the Sufi Brotherhoods following one of the great Saints of medieval Islam (Gilsenan 1973: 1).

Similarly, Haji Abubakar Atjeh puts it in this way:

> The Sufis are classified into two groups: the first is independent *'ulamā'* who do not follow a certain Sufi order which ties their students and brings them into a school of Sufi doctrines. These Sufi figures are known for their works which are regarded as special features in producing a standpoint in the field of Sufism ... The other is the Sufis who are bound to certain teachings or Sufi orders which are followed and propagated by their disciples. Although changes might occur in the order, its principles remain as were established by the founder (Atjeh 1980: 17).

Studies of Sufism usually follow a particular aspect of Sufism. Studies of Sufism in Java concentrate mainly on aspects of mysticism. Some Dutch scholars such as Kraemer (1921) and Zoetmulder (1935) examined Javanese mysticism in their research for the Doctor thesis. Similarly, Johns (1965) analysed a Javanese text on mysticism. Unlike these accounts, a contemporary study by Woodward includes the discussion of both asceticism and mysticism. What is important in this study is that Woodward clearly makes a distinction between asceticism among the *santri* population and mysticism in the Javanese Royal Courts and in the villages. An important publication which deals with a Sufi order is a study of the historical, geographical and sociological aspects of the *Naqshabandiyyah* Order in Indonesia by Van Bruinessen (1992a). A consideration of the development of this Sufi order in Java is included in his study. The present thesis includes a discussion of both individual Sufism and Sufi orders.

The goal of this work is to analyse the role of the *pesantren* in the maintenance of Sufism. Describing several Sufi orders, Geertz potently demonstrates the importance of Sufism in the *pesantren* (1960: 182-184). In his work Dhofier has shown the importance of Sufi elements in the *pesantren* tradition and has examined several Sufi orders maintained by *kyai* in Central and East Java (1982: 135-147). Dhofier hastened to stress that his data on Sufism were very limited both in locality and content, and that, as a result,

further research was needed (1980a: xxviii). This may be a reason why in the published translation of Dhofier's thesis (1982), some parts of the chapter on "Kyai and Tarekat" were excluded. The present work attempts to fill in some of these gaps as well as to examine some of the assumptions posited in Dhofier's study. Although some criticism may be directed at Dhofier's study, it remains a cogent piece of writing and this book has been inspired by it.

The general features of Sufism must be discussed in some detail in order to understand the importance of Sufism in the *pesantren*. This is important to relate an understanding of Sufism within the *pesantren* tradition to Sufism in general.

The role of the *pesantren* in the maintenance of Sufism can be seen both in the way *pesantren* maintain Sufism without necessarily specialising in the development of Sufi orders as well as in the way some *pesantren* are dedicated to upholding a particular Sufi order. To give concrete examples of how this works, I provide accounts of Pesantren Tebuireng, East Java, as a representative of the first category and Pesantren Suryalaya, West Java, as a representative of the other category.

C. Sufism in Java before the Nineteenth Century

This thesis considers the development of Sufism in the second half of the nineteenth and in the twentieth century. It commences by examining the relationship between Sufism in Java and international Islam represented by Mecca and Medina as the centres of Islamic orthodoxy during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. During this period, Java underwent a so-called 'Islamic Revival' made potently manifest by the very enthusiastic teaching of Islam. In any study, no matter how specific, it is important not to isolate Islam in Java from Islam in general. Aspects of the history of the *pesantren* during the period are therefore also included. In order to provide a historical background, I shall describe the development of Sufism in Java before the nineteenth century.

Most scholars studying the history of the spread of Islam in Indonesia agree that Sufis played a major role in the Islamisation of the Indonesian archipelago. Tanja writes that "the Islam that first spread in the Indonesian archipelago was Sufi Islam" (1982: 21). Johns, a prolific writer on the history of Sufism in Indonesia (1955, 1957, 1961, 1965, 1975), suggests that Arab and Muslim merchants from other countries had been visiting Indonesia since the eighth century, although no Muslim communities on any scale appeared until the thirteenth century. He describes how important the role of Sufism was in this process:

> It [Sufism] was directly involved in the spread of Islam to Indonesia, it played a significant part of the social organisation of the Indonesian port towns, and it was the specific nature of Sufism which facilitated the absorption of non-Muslim communities into fold of Islam (1961: 13).

It seems that no Indonesian scholars or *'ulamā'* would deny the great role of Sufis in the Islamisation of Indonesia although this view is still rather speculative. Johns assumes that from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the activities of Sufi missionaries acted as a motor behind the spread of Islam in Indonesia. This is in accord with the dominant influence of the Sufi orders in the Islamic world after the fall of Baghdad to the Mongols in 1258. The Sufi missionaries were forced to leave Baghdad and seek peaceful areas in the east where they could pursue their proselytisation (Koentjaraningrat 1984: 53). During this period Islam was able to put down roots among the people of local Indonesian states and influence their rules (Johns 1961: 13-14).

Most scholars emphasise the significant role of Sufis in the process of Islamisation because of similarities between Sufism and pre-Islamic Indonesian cultures. Johns writes of the characteristics of the Sufis who succeeded in the spreading of Islam in Indonesia:

> They were peripatetic preachers ranging over the whole known world, voluntarily espousing poverty; they were frequently associated with trade or craft guilds, according to the order (*tarikah*) to which they belonged; they taught a complex syncretic theosophy largely familiar to the Indonesians, but which was subordinate to, although an enlargement on the fundamental dogmas of Islam; they were proficient in magic and possessed powers of healing; and not least, consciously or unconsciously, they were prepared to preserve continuity with the past, and to use the terms and elements of pre-Islamic culture in an Islamic context (1961: 15).

In Java it is believed that Islam was first brought by the *Wali Sanga* (the Nine Saints) who played an important role in the process of Islamisation. The names of these Nine Saints are said to be: Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Sunan Ampel, Sunan Bonang, Sunan Drajat, Sunan Giri, Sunan Kudus, Sunan Muria, Sunan Kalijaga and Sunan Gunung Jati (Zuhri 1981: 247-352). Many scholars, mainly Indonesians, believed that the *Wali Sanga* taught orthodox Islam but no scholar would suggest that the *Wali Sanga* were members of Sufi orders. Rather, they were Sufi who followed the teachings of al-Ghazālī. Zarkasyi points out that one of the most impressive Sufi teachings of the *Wali Sanga* was al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (1977: 61). The influence of al-Ghazālī's teachings was greater than that of al-'Arabī and other such seminal Islamic thinkers. Steenbrink suggests that "the Sufi teachings of al-Ghazālī have been longer and more deeply established in Indonesia than pantheistic teachings" (1984: 174). To Sunan Bonang, for instance, is attributed a Sufi text that supported

the teachings of al-Ghazālī while criticising those of al-'Arabī and his ilk (Drewes 1969: 17). In the oldest Javanese code of Muslim ethics, which was edited and published by Drewes, the author elaborates on some of al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyah al-Hidāyah* (1978: 6). Steenbrink concludes that the author of the book had to have been a follower of al-Ghazālī's teachings, not of al-'Arabī (1984: 174). Hamka supports these views.

> Sufism at the time [of its spread in Indonesia] was in accordance and/or united with *Mazhab ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah*, particularly the Shāfi'ite tradition which came here. In the history of the development of Sufism in Indonesia, the influence of al-Ghazālī al-Shāfi'ī was greater than that of al-Ḥallāj al-Shī'ī (1984: 233).

Despite the preponderance of al-Ghazālī's teachings, the mysticism of al-'Arabī also spread in Java. Steenbrink argues that the teaching of *waḥdah al-wujūd* (Unity of Existence) was disseminated along with the spread of the *Shaṭṭāriyyah* Order in the seventeenth century (1984: 174). The *Shaṭṭāriyyah* Order travelled from its roots in Aceh, where 'Abd al-Ra'ūf of Singkel firstly propagated it, to West Java. Here one of his disciples, named 'Abd al-Muhyī of Karang, established the Sufi order. From there it spread to Central and East Java (Kartodirdjo 1966: 144). The *Shattāriyyah* Order had a very strong speculative basis, mainly directed towards upholding the seven grades of being (Steenbrink 1984: 174-175). There is a Javanese version of Muḥammad ibn Faḍl Allah's teachings which contains a system of 'seven grades of being' and Johns critically edited and translated the text (1965).

> Thus it is not pressing probability too far to suggest that the spread of the *Shattariyah* Order and knowledge of the *Tuhfah* went hand in hand, and this together with the other circumstances referred to above, makes a Javanese version of the work theoretically possible by 1680 at the last (Johns 1965: 12).

It is important to note that the teachings of *waḥdah al-wujūd* influenced various works in nineteenth-century Javanese literature such as the *Serat Centini* and *Wirid Hidayat Jati* plus a number of others.

It seems very probable that like the *Qādiriyyah* Order, the *Shattāriyyah* may have appeared in Java before the nineteenth century. Hamzah Fansuri, who was a famous *Qādiriyyah* mystic, visited various places including Java (Kartodirdjo 1966: 145). Hamzah Fansuri was strongly influenced by al-'Arabī. He has even been seen by some as the Malay interpreter of al-'Arabī. His philosophy was that there is no being other than God. God is not in the world but is the world. His system of the world is a series of emanations from the Divine Being and there is no limit to the number of emanations (1955: 75-76).

'Purification' exercises to restore the emphasis on ethics and obedience within the realm of orthodoxy as taught by al-Ghazālī already existed in the sixteenth century (Wahid 1984: 7). Such purification exercises are mentioned in several Javanese literary works. Writing about the *Serat Centini* which is assumed to have been written in the early nineteenth century, in particular about the punishment of Shaykh Among Raga who was accused of having spread heterodox Sufi teachings, Soebardi concludes:

> In the present book of Centini we see the presentation of Shaikh Among Raga as the symbol of an aristocratic shaikh who adopted a syncretic religious life as a result of the conciliation and harmonisation of two religious currents in Javanese society, i.e. traditional Javanese mysticism as propagated by Shaikh Siti Jenar and Sunan Panggung, and orthodox legalistic Islam (1971: 349).

With the development of the close relationship with Mecca and Medina in the second half of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth century, new developments in Sufism took place in Java. In this period a new Sufi order was established in Mecca, namely the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order, which became the most powerful Sufi order in Java and the role of the *pesantren* in the maintenance of Sufism in Java is closely related to the development of this Sufi order.

D. Organisation of this Discussion

The discussion has been organised into six chapters including an introduction and conclusion. Chapter One, Introduction, describes the general features of *pesantren* in Java in order to provide an idea of the way the term *pesantren* has been used. It then examines the implications of the term Sufism for the discussion. The work then moves on to describe the development of Sufism before the nineteenth century in order to fill in the historical background. This setting of the scene is followed by the main body of the thesis.

Chapter Two discusses the relationship between Java and the Middle East, particularly Mecca, during the second half of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth century, concentrating on the role of the *hajj* in the spread of Sufism in Java. The chapter begins with the analysis of the role of the *hajj* in general. Then, it discusses a famous Indonesian *'ulamā'* in Mecca during the latter part of the nineteenth century, Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas, and his relationship with the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order, followed by a description of his successors and their role in the spread of the order in Java. Finally, the chapter closes with an analysis of some Indonesian *'ulamā'* and their relationship to Sufism, but not to Sufi orders.

The discussion of the role of the *hajj* in the spread of Sufism in Java during the latter part of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth century shows the relationship between Islam in Java and international Islam. This relates to general features of Sufism within the *pesantren* tradition which are elucidated in Chapter Three. This chapter includes a detailed discussion of the terms *taṣawwuf* and *tarīqah* in *pesantren*, the description of the doctrinal bases of Sufism, the analysis of the importance of and relationship between Sufism and *sharī'ah* in *pesantren*, and the description of Sufi texts used in *pesantren*.

Chapter Four aims to examine the role of *pesantren* in the maintenance of Sufism in Java as offered by the example of Pesantren Tebuireng. The chapter begins with the description of the establishment of the *pesantren* concentrating on the role of Kyai Hashim Ash'ari. Tebuireng is a major *pesantren* which has played a major role in Islamic education in Java. The chapter describes the development of its educational system. The main parts of the chapter consist of an analysis of some aspects of Sufism as understood and practised in Pesantren Tebuireng and the relationship between this *pesantren* and the development of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in East Java.

Chapter Five examines the *Pesantren Tarekat* of Suryalaya. It begins with a description of the founder of the *pesantren* including the development of the *pesantren* during his period of leadership. It describes the spiritual power of Abah Anom, the present leader of the *pesantren*, and his influence, followed by an explanation of the teaching and rituals of the Sufi order. The chapter also provides a discussion of the development of education in the *pesantren* and an analysis of *Pondok Ramaja Inabah* (centre for the treatment of narcotics addicts and delinquent youths) as a unique aspect of Pesantren Suryalaya.

Chapter Six, Conclusion, provides a summary of the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO
THE ROLE OF THE *HAJJ* IN THE SPREAD OF SUFISM IN JAVA

Mecca and Medina are two Muslim holy cities which are regarded as the centres of Islamic orthodoxy. The *hajj* or pilgrimage to Mecca is the fifth pillar of Islam which must be performed by those who have the ability to do so. In this chapter I shall examine the relationship between Mecca, and also Medina, with Java, particularly with regard to the spread of Sufism in Java during the second half of nineteenth and in the early twentieth century. First, I shall discuss the role of the *hajj* in the process of the Islamisation in Java. Then, I shall discuss one famous *'ulamā'* of Indonesian birth, named Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas, and his role in the founding of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in the Arachipelago, and the role of his successors in the spread of the order in Java. Finally, I shall examine the relationship between some famous Indonesian *'ulamā'* and Sufism.

A. The Role of the *Hajj*

Johns has cogently argued that since the sixteenth century Indonesian *'ulamā'* have had contacts with *'ulamā'* in the centres of orthodoxy in Arabia, the cities Mecca and Medina which were intimately connected with the life of the Prophet. The Indonesian *'ulamā'*, particularly Acehnese *'ulamā'*, often invited *'ulamā'* from South Asia and the Islamic heartland to visit them and expand their knowledge of religious matters. These brought with them books for explication and commentary. Some Acehnese *'ulamā'* made the pilgrimage to Mecca and studied Islam in some cities in the Hijaz and the Yemen (1980: 168). Johns, however, did not go into the relationship between Java and the Middle East during this period. His main reference to this period is Banten, the oldest Islamic port city in West Java, which has remained a centre of Islamic learning since 1524 (1980: 176). The Question when the people of Java first began to perform the *hajj* remains unanswered. Van Bruinessen points out that for the people of Java the *hajj* has been considered extremely important ever since Islam first came to the island and its undertaking was not limited just to the santri population. Other Muslims also felt called upon to honour this obligation. Van Bruinessen describes that in the seventeenth century kings in Java began to seek political legitimacy in Mecca. In the 1630s rulers of Mataram and Banten competed in sending their deputies to Mecca in order to gain recognition of their kingdom and to receive the title '*sultan*'. These rulers regarded the Grand Sharif in Mecca and Medina as the person who had

supreme authority over the Muslim world. On their return to Java, the deputies brought a piece of *kiswah* – the black fabric which covers the *ka'bah* (cubical stone structure in Mecca that is the chief object of the *hajj* and towards which Muslims face in prayer). This cloth is changed annually and a piece of the discarded cloth was regarded an effective amulet. Some years later, a son of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa of Banten, 'Abd al-Qahhār, went to perform the *hajj* in Mecca. Subsequently he was known as Sultan Haji. Van Bruinessen accords him the honour of being the first *priyayi* who performed the pilgrimage to Mecca (1990b: 43). This would seem to indicate that it was not long before the *hajj* assumed a political as well as a ritual function.

Apart from these functions, to the people of Java, *santri* or non-*santri*, Mecca was regarded as spiritual centre. There are many *kyai* in Java who, according to their followers, went to Mecca spiritually to perform Friday prayer at the Masjid al-Ḥarām. In several Javanese legends famous figures are often described as having been visitors to Mecca who acquired their Islamic knowledge in the holy city (Van Bruinessen 1990b: 43).

Mecca was also regarded as a place in which a student could learn several branches of Islamic knowledge, for instance *fiqh* (Islamic law); *tafsīr* (Qur'anic exegesis); or Sufism. Although many writers argue that Islam was first brought from India and, therefore, was influenced by Indian culture, the teaching of *wahdah al-wujūd* (Unity of Existence), which is often considered to smack of pantheism, was definitely studied by its propagators in Mecca or Medina. 'Abd al-Ra'ūf of Singkel, the first propagator of the *Shaṭṭāriyyah* Order in Aceh, learned about the order in Mecca, not in its place of origin in India (Van Bruinessen 1990b: 44-45).

In the second half of the nineteenth century the relationship between Java and the Middle East became closer. The development of steamship travel made it possible for a great number of Javanese to undertake the *hajj* to Mecca (Woodward 1989: 135). Vredenbregt (1962) provides a comprehensive report and analysis of an increasing number of the pilgrims from Indonesia during the late nineteenth and in the early twentieth century. Between 1875 and 1884 the number was 5,958 people annually, whereas between 1905 and 1914 it reached 15,390. The highest number of pilgrims was from Java. Between 1875 and 1884 there were 3,675 pilgrims from Java and between 1905 and 1914 the number increased to 9,969 (Vredenbregt 1962: 91-154). Java therefore had a relatively large number of pilgrims compared to other islands of Southeast Asia; and, compared to other countries, Indonesia has always had a large number of pilgrims. Indubitably, in Indonesia the people who hold the title *haji* enjoy high esteem and great prestige. Van Bruinessen writes:

> To Indonesian Muslims, the *hajj*, for a long time, has played an important role. There

is an impression that Indonesians considered the *hajj* more importantly than most other peoples and that the society greatly appreciates the *haji*. This situation might be linked to the traditional culture of Southeast Asia (1990b: 43).

It should be emphasised that, in addition to making the pilgrimage, a number of people from Java spent several years in Mecca and Medina in their quest for Islamic knowledge. The pilgrims were usually classified either as general pilgrims who came to Mecca where they remained for several months only to perform the *hajj*, or the *muqīmīn*, namely those who settled there for years ('*menahun*') to pursue their studies of Islamic science. Not surprisingly some students became followers of a particular Sufi order (Suminto 1985: 95). Some of the *muqīmīn* became prominent *'ulamā'* and teachers who joined the ranks of the learned in Mecca and Medina. Snouck Hurgronje observed that the Indonesian colony in Mecca during the late nineteenth century was large. He concludes:

> ... here lies the heart of the religious life of the East Indian Archipelago, and numerous arteries pump from thence fresh blood in ever accelerating tempo to the entire body of the Muslim populace of Indonesia (1931: 291).

The great number of pilgrims during the period was, as Kartodirdjo points out, one of the main manifestations of religious revival in Java. Other manifestations were the phenomenal growth of religious schools and the revival in Islamic mysticism. These three phenomena were interrelated and the role of the *hajj* in the linking them to international developments in Islam was very great. The *hajj* bridged "... the gap between the Meccan teacher and the common *santri* of the village in Java (Kartodirdjo 1966: 153). Van Bruinessen writes:

> We see several sociological functions of the *hajj*. Indonesians sought knowledge in Mecca and Medina and after returning to their country they taught their community the knowledge they learned in the holy land. Religious practices in Indonesia maintained to get connections from there as well (1990b: 45).

Kartodirdjo puts it this way:

> Religious revivalism ... was a wide spread phenomenon in the latter part of the 19th century ... It would be a mistake to regard the religious movement in Indonesia during this period as a parochial happening. Without adopting a Mecca-centric point of view, it is necessary to point out the many ties which linked the Islamic world in Indonesia with that religious centre. Mecca-trained or Mecca-inspired *ulama* or *hadjis*, either personally or through their disciples, instigated and championed the revival movements in various parts of Indonesia. The social core of these revivalists was to be found in the *Djawah* community (Kartodirdjo 1966: 153).

It is interesting, and perhaps not surprising, to note that students from Java tended to choose *'ulamā'* and teachers who themselves came from Java. After returning to Java, these students became *kyai* who led the *pesantren* that attracted students who later became teachers and *kyai* as well. Although it is a fact that *pesantren* have become powerful agents in promoting Islam throughout Java, to put this phenomenon in a chronological context it would be true to say that the power of *pesantren* became stronger since the latter part of the nineteenth century. Under the conditions created by the religious revival, Kartodirdjo argues that *pesantren* went from strength to strength and won extra popular attraction during this period (1966: 155).

Kartodirdjo also writes that "... the pilgrimage was a social force of the revitalisation of religious life" (1966: 148). In this connection, it is a mistake to regard, as many writers do, only the influence of the *ḥajj* on the modernist or reformist movements in Indonesia as a result of contacts between Indonesian pilgrims with Pan-Islamic movement propagated by the Egyptian Muḥammad 'Abduh. It should also be borne in mind that, paradoxical though it may seem, the *hajj* also played a great role in the process of the traditionalisation of Islam, particularly in Java. With regard to the spread of Sufi orders in Java the *ḥajj* played a significant role, as Kartodirdjo suggests:

> These three Sufi orders [the *Qādiriyyah*, the *Shaṭṭāriyyah* and the *Naqshabandiyyah*] emerged as the spearhead of Islamic revival in certain parts of 19th century Java. The main missionary force consisted of *hadjis* who returned home as adepts of one of the *tarekats*, since direct communication with Mecca was not only maintained but also increased in the latter parts of the 19th century, propaganda was considerably strengthened. Moreover, the *tarekats* introduced directly from Mecca contributed a great deal not only to fervent religious practices but also to intolerance and fanaticism (1966: 158).

In attempting to construct a picture of the development of Islamic revival in Java, it is worth the trouble to examine the position of Indonesian *'ulamā'* in Mecca. Dhofier describes six prominent *'ulamā'* who had a close connection with and played a great role in the maintenance and spread of traditional Islam in Java during the second half of nineteenth and in the early twentieth century: Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas; Shaykh Nawawi Banten; Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim; Shaykh Mahfudh al-Tarmasi; Kyai Khalil Bangkalan; and Hadrah al-Shaykh Hashim Ash'ari (1982: 85-99). While Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas and Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim were well known as leaders of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order, others practiced their Sufism without being affiliated with a particular Sufi order. It is these two traditions that have been developed and have been maintained by the majority of *pesantren* in Java to the present day. As an example of the influence and prestige of such men I shall look at

the carier of one of them, Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas, in some depth.

B. Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas and the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order

Indubitably, one of the most famous Indonesian *'ulamā'* during the nineteenth century was Shaykh Ahmad Khatib ibn 'Abd al-Ghaffar from Sambas, Kalimantan. His career was deeply bound up with the establishment of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order, which is today the most widespread Sufi order in Java. It is a combination of the *Qādiriyyah* and *Naqshabandiyyah* Orders. It is by no means unusual in the history of Sufism for some *'ulamā'* to have practised the tenets of two or more different orders. Pertinently in Indonesia the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order is not merely a combination of two different orders that are practised together, but rather is itself a new Sufi order (Van Bruinessen 1992a: 89).

In Indonesia it is commonly believed that the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order was first taught by Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas (Van Bruinessen 1992a: 89-90). Despite his fame, little is known about this prominent *'ulamā'*. In Indonesia he is famous as a leader of a Sufi order and as an expert in Sufism, but besides this he was an Islamic scholar who mastered various fields of Islamic knowledge such as the Qur'ān, Hadīth (Traditions of the Prophet), and *fiqh* (Islamic law), and transmitted his knowledge to many students in Mecca (Dhofier 1982: 17-18). His vast knowledge had been built up by diligent study as it is known that he had at least nine famous teachers in Mecca who mastered various branches of Islamic knowledge: Shaykh Daud ibn Muhammad al-Fatani; Shaykh Shams al-Din; Shaykh Muhammad Saleh Rais; Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd al-Rasul; Shaykh 'Abd al-Hafiz 'Ajami; Shaykh Bashir al-Jabarti; Sayyid Ahmad al-Marzuki; Sayyid 'Abd Allah al-Mirghani; and Shaykh 'Uthman al-Dimyati (Abdullah 1990b: 46). His own students regarded him as a scholar of the highest degree in all branches of Islamic knowledge and his achievement of highest grade in the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order outranked all his colleagues and he initiated thousands of followers from all parts of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago (Snouck Hurgronje 1931: 276).

Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas was born in 1217 AH (AD 1805). Little is known about his early life. What is definitely known is that most of his life was spent in Mecca. Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas became and remained a teacher at the Masjid al-Ḥarām until he passed away either in 1875 (Snouck Hurgronje 1931: 262; Dhofier 1982: 85) or in 1878 (Van Bruinessen 1989: 74). By the time he arrived there for centuries Mecca had been a centre

of Islamic education where many Indonesians not only had plunged into study and subsequently became *'ulamā'* and teachers. It was Shaykh Daud ibn Muhammad al-Fatani, a *murshid* (teacher) of the *Shattāriyyah* Order, who introduced Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas to Shaykh Shams al-Din, a *murshid* (teacher) of the *Qādiriyyah* Order (Abdullah 1980: 181). One unanswered question is why Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas did not join the *Shattariyyah* Order, to which his first teacher belonged before he met Shaykh Shams al-Din, whilst the *Shattāriyyah* Order was said to have been the most dominant Sufi order in Southeast Asia before its spread was countered by the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* and the *Naqshabandiyyah* Orders in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Shaykh Sams Al-Din greatly influenced the life of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas, above all because of the Sufi order he developed. Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas was the best among the students of Shaykh Shams al-Din so that it was appropriate that he should succeed to his teacher's position after the latter's death.

> Since that time Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas was already appointed to be a *shaykh murshid kamil mukamil* [the most perfect Sufi teacher] in the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order which was based on the teachings of Shaykh Shams al-Din (Abdullah 1980: 181).

It is said in the *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* that the Sufi order was transmitted from Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī, the founder of the *Qādiriyyah* Order, through his two sons 'Abd al-'Azīz and Muḥammad al-Hattak, to Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas' teacher, Shaykh Shams al-Din. Van Bruinessen suggests that before Shaykh Sams al-Din there must have been several other names that have not been found in other sources (1989: 73). It is not known from whom Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas actually received the *ijazah* ('licence' to teach) of the *Naqshabandiyyah* Order. Nor is it clear whether his teacher was also a *Naqshabandiyyah* teacher or whether Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas himself practised elements of the *Naqshabandiyyah* Order. If he also received the *ijazah* of the *Naqshabandiyyah* Order from Shaykh Shams al-Din as well, then the view that Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas was the founder of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order must be incorrect. When we examine the above quotation from Abdullah (1980) in some detail, it does seem more likely that Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas received an *ijazah* from both Sufi orders from Shams al-Din. Whatever the case, incontrovertibly in Java it is Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas who is regarded as the founder of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order.

In order to throw some more light on the matter it is important to list the *silsilah* (Sufi chain) of the Sufi order up to Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas.

Allah and then Gabriel are mentioned in the *silsilah*; they are then followed by:

Muhammad saw
'Ali ibn Abi Talib
Husain ibn 'Ali
Zayn al-'Abidin
Muhammad al-Baqir
Ja'far al-Sadiq
Musa al-Kazim
Abu al-Hasan 'Ali ibn Musa al-Rida
Ma'ruf al-Karkhi
Sari al-Saqati
Abu al-Qasim Junayd al-Baghdadi
Abu Bakr al-Shibli
'Abd al-Wahid al-Tamimi
'Abd al-Faraj al-Tartusi
Abu al-Hasan 'Ali al-Hakkari
Abu Sa'id Makhzumi
'Abd al-Qadir al-Jaylani
'Abd al-'Aziz
Muhammad al-Hattak
Shams al-Din
Sharif al-Din
Nur al-Din
Waly al-Din
Husam al-Din
Yahya
Abu Bakr
'Abd al-Rahim
'Uthman
'Abd al-Fattah
Muhammad Murad
Shams al-Din
Ahmad Khatib Sambas (Al-Attas 1963:54; Van Bruinessen 1992a:90-91).

Al-Attas suggests that Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas is the author of the twelve-page *Fath al-'Ārifīn* (Victory of the Gnostics), the most important and popular treatise on Sufi practices among Malays (1963: 59). Van Bruinessen, however, refutes that the book was written by Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas and argues that this was done by one of his students. He suggests that:

> Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas himself did not write any single book, but two of his students loyally recorded his teachings in a short Malay treatise, which explicitly explained the techniques of this Sufi order (van Bruinessen 1992a: 90).

The *Fath al-'Ārifīn* was compiled by one of his students and *khalīfah* ('vice-regent') named Muhammad Isma'il ibn Ibrahim al-Bali, a Balinese Muslim, and the compilation was based on Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas' teachings (Van Bruinessen 1989: 72). It was firstly printed in Mecca in the year 1323 AH or 1325 AH (AD 1908) (Shellebear 1930: 359). Another student of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas named Muhammad Ma'ruf ibn Shaykh 'Abd Allah Khatib of Palembang also wrote a treatise called *Tariqa yang Dibangsakan kepada Qadiriyah dan Naqsyabandiyah* (Sufi order Attributed to the *Qādiriyyah* and *Naqshabandiyyah* Order) (Van Bruinessen 1992a: 90, n.2).

Shellebear (1930) seems to have been the first scholar to have translated *Fath al-'Ārifīn* into English. Later, Archer (1937), followed by Al-Attas (1963), reviewed some parts of the text. These scholars paid particular attention to aspects of the treatise concerned with the *Naqshabandiyyah* Order. In his biography of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas, Abdullah (1980) transliterates the *Fath al-'Ārifīn* and concentrates on those aspects of the treatise practised in the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order. Van Bruinessen (1989) provides another transliteration of parts of *Fath al-'Ārifīn* in accordance with the teachings of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order.

If a proper understanding of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas' teachings is to be reached, it is important to describe the basic rituals explained in the *Fath al-'Ārifīn* as published by Abdullah (1980) and Van Bruinessen (1989). There are three basic rituals in this Sufi order. The first is to recite the *istighfār* (asking forgiveness), that is, *astaghfir Allāh al-Ghafūr al-Rahīm* (I ask forgiveness from God, the Forgiver and the Merciful) either twenty to twenty-five times (according to Abdullah 1980: 187), or two to twenty times (according to Van Bruinessen 1989: 73). This is followed by the recitation of *salawat* (invocation), that is, *Allāhumma salli 'alā sayyidinā Muhammad wa 'alā ālih wa sahbih wa sallam* (O God, bless the Prophet Muhammad, his family and his companions, and give them salvation) the same number of times as the *istighfār*. The third is to perform *dhikir* (remembrance) by reciting *lā ilāh illā Allāh* (There is no god but God) after each of five obligatory prayers everyday (Abdullah 1980: 187; Van Bruinessen 1989: 73).

The *Fath al-'Ārifīn* also gives instructions for the method of reciting *lā ilāh illā Allāh*. The performance of *dhikir* should begin with pronouncing the word '*lā*' while simultaneously imagining that it is drawn up from below the navel. This word should be extended along the psychic organs known as the *latā'if* (subtleties): that is heart, spirit, inner heart, secret, and most secret

and brought up to the subtlety of the soul and finished in this subtlety. From the subtlety of brain the word *'ilāh'* immediately follows and descends until it finishes at the right shoulder-blade down to the subtlety of the spirit. From here, the words *'illā Allāh'* continue to the middle of the chest and finish in the so-called *'hati sanubari'* (the subtlety of the heart), which the Malays usually call the *'jantung'* (heart). The *dhikir* must be performed with great concentration of thought. It is to be chanted while keeping in mind the meaning of the formula, that is, *lā maqṣūd illā Allāh* (there is no desire except God, the only One). Then comes a stage at which an adept imagines the form of his *shaykh* who helps him in *tawajjuh* (meditation or ecstatic union), which means that the directing the heart towards God, at the same time imploring His Mercy and Guidance. If the *shaykh* is actually present before him, he should wait for the *shaykh*'s command and submit to him. If the *shaykh* is absent he should produce the form of the *shaykh* in his mind's eye and seek his spiritual guidance. It is then stated that this *dhikir* is known as *dhikir nafy ithbāt* ('negation-affirmation' *dhikir*), and be practised either *jahar* (out loud) or *sirr* (secretly) (Al-Attas 1963: 60-65; Abdullah 1980: 187; Van Bruinessen 1989: 73).

After completing *dhikir* according to the prescribed number of times, the adept should recite "*sayyidinā Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh 'alaih wa sallam*" (our lord Muhammad, Messenger of God, whom He blesses and grants salvation). Then, the *ṣalāwat* (invocation) is read, that is, "*Allāhumma ṣalli 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammad ṣalātan tunjīnā bihā min jamī' al-ahwāl wa al-āfāt*" (O God, grant our lord Muhammad blessing with which You save us from all disasters and destructions). Finally, the ritual is ended by reciting *Sūrah al-Fātihah* – the first Chapter of the Holy Qur'ān – for the Prophet Muhammad, his companions and all *shaykh* of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order, in particular for Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī, Shaykh Junayd al-Baghdādī and Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas. The first Chapter of the Qur'ān is also recited for fathers, mothers, and all Muslim brothers, dead and alive (Abdullah 1980: 1987; Van Bruinessen 1989: 73).

Van Bruinesen points out that this basic ritual is strongly influenced by the *Qādiriyyah* Order, particularly regarding the body movements when performing *dhikir*. The influence of the *Naqshabandiyyah* Order on the ritual is also substantial. Its first influence is on the concentration on *latā'if* ('subtleties'), namely psychic organs with which man is equipped for performing *dhikir*. Van Bruinessen argues that the *latā'if* (pl. form of *laṭīfah*), which Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas applied in the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order are not known in the *Qādiriyyah* Order. The logical assumption is then that this is borrowed from the *Naqshabandiyyah* Order (1989: 73).

The *Fath al-'Ārifīn* describes ten *laṭā'if* ('subtleties'). Five of them are the *qalb* (heart), *rūh* (spirit), *sirr* (inner heart), *khāfī* (secret) and *akhfā'* (most secret) which are known as *'ālam al-amr* (World of Command). The other five *laṭā'if* are the *nafs* (subtlety of the soul) and the four elements: water, air, earth and fire. These are called *'ālam al-khalq* (World of Creation) (Archer 1937: 96; Al-Attas 1963: 59). Shellabear (1930: 360-370), Archer (1937: 98) and Al-Attas (1963: 60) maintain that the origin of *laṭā'if* can be traced to Shaykh Aḥmad Fārūqī al-Sirhindī, the eighth successor from the founder of *Naqshabandiyyah* Order. Below I quote Archer's translation of *Fatḥ al-'Ārifīn* on *laṭā'if* (which Al-Attas also quotes).

> ... [T]he subtlety of the heart [*laṭīfah al-qalb*] is below the left breast, two fingers breadth to the left, and ... its colour is yellow, and it is the seat of the authority of our lord Adam, and its origin is water, air and earth. The subtlety of the spirit [*laṭīfah al-rūḥ*] is below the right breast, two fingers breadth to the right, its colour is red, and it is the seat of authority of our lords Abraham and Noah, and its seat of origin is fire. The subtlety of the inner heart [*laṭīfah al-sirr*] is located opposite the left breast, two fingers breadth towards the chest, its colour is white, it is the seat of the authority of our lord Moses and its origin is water. The subtlety of the secret [*laṭīfah al-khāfī*] is opposite the right breast, two fingers breadth towards the chest, its colour is green, it is the seat of the authority of our lord 'Isa (Jesus), and its origin is air. The subtlety of the most secret [*laṭīfah al-akhfā'*] is located in the middle of the chest, its colour is black, it is the seat of authority of our lord Muhammad, and its origin is earth. The subtlety of the soul (brain) [*laṭīfah al-nafs al-nāṭiqah*] is located in the forehead and the whole head (Archer 1937: 96).

Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas taught both the *dhikir jahar* (spoken *dhikir*) and the *dhikir sirr* or *khāfī* (silent or secret *dhikir*). The practice of silent *dhikir* is clearly another influence of the *Naqshabandiyyah* Order because the *Qādiriyyah* Order teaches the loud *dhikir* only. Another strong influence of the *Naqshabandiyyah* Order is *tawajjuh* (ecstatic union) or *rābitah shaykh* before and/or during *dhikir*. This is a rare occurance in the *Qādiriyyah* Order (Al-Attas 1963: 60; Van Bruinessen 1989: 73). *Murāqabah* or spiritual communion, which is explained in the *Fath al-'Ārifīn*, is yet another influence of the *Naqshabandiyyah* Order. The *Fath al-'Ārifīn* lists twenty kinds of *murāqabah* (spiritual communion) which are described by Al-Attas (1963: 60-62).

As previously mentioned, one very obvious influence of the *Qādiriyyah* Order on the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order is seen in the list of *silsilah* (chain) of the *Fath al-'Ārifīn* because only the *silsilah* of the *Qādiriyyah* Order is listed. The *silsilah* of the *Naqshabandiyyah* Order is not mentioned. Another influence of the *Qādiriyyah* Order is very striking in the rituals of *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order, particularly in the *manaqiban*

(recitation of the Excellences of its Founder). The hagiography of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī is always recited, whereas that of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn al-Naqshabandī is never read. Pertinently Van Bruinessen says that the *shaykh* or teachers of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order are likely to emphasise the elements of the *Qādiriyyah* rather than those of the *Naqshabandiyyah* (1989: 73). This would seem to be an unequivocal indication that the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order is in fact basically the *Qādiriyyah* Order into which certain *Naqshabandiyyah* practices have been incorporated. It is also understandable why Snouck Hurgronje regards Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas merely as a *shaykh* of the *Qādiriyyah* Order (1931: 262). Similarly, in his accounts of Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim al-Bantani (a successor of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas) Kartodirdjo describes him as a *shaykh* of the *Qādiriyyah* Order (1966: 177-183).

C. Successors of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas and the Spread of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in Java

During his life-time Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas appointed many *khalīfah* (vice-regents), but after his death, his position as the *shaykh* of *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* in Mecca was conferred on Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim from Banten, West Java. From an early age Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim had been steeped in the teachings of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas and was counted the best among his students. He was known to have had a very close relationship with Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas since his earliest youth. Snouck Hurgronje (1931: 276) writes: "As a young boy he gained the honour of being taken by Ahmad Khatib Sambas, then at the height of his prestige, as a servant-student in his house". This close relationship meant that he was considered suitable to teach and propagate the fundamental tenets of the Sufi order. For few years Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim had been appointed as a vice-regent of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas in Singapore and then in Banten. Finally, he was appointed to be successor to Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas in Mecca just before his teacher's death (Hurgronje 1931: 276).

Before he moved to Mecca to succeed his teacher, Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim had played an important role in spreading the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in Java. There are few who would dispute that the early development of the Sufi order in Java was inextricably tied up with the career of Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim as a religious teacher and a *murshid* (teacher) of the Sufi order (Kartodirdjo 1966: 177). Van Bruinessen points out that it was the charisma of Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim that boosted the marked spread of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order, not only in Banten but also to other

areas from South Sumatra in the west to the island of Lombok in the east (1989: 74).

Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim also established a *pesantren* in Banten to which he attracted many followers whose loyalty, devotion and obedience were unquestioned. Besides establishing such a centre with both the material and spiritual support of his followers, he wandered from one place to another to spread the teachings of the Sufi order and preach religious revival. His preaching exerted a strong influence on the population of Banten, including many civil servants. The *dhikir* which was performed in many places, particularly in mosques and *langgar* (prayer room), became the focus of a revitalised life (Kartodirdjo 1966: 178). Kartodirdjo writes:

> In this spiritual climate it is quite natural that there should be a strong reverence for a man such as Hadji Abdul Karim. It was generally believed that he was a *Wali Allah* who had been granted *barakat* and consequently had the power to transmit *keramat* or miraculous grants. Later on he became better known as *Kjai Agung*, the Great Kjai (1966: 179).

The Dutch consider Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim to have been very influential in the revolt of the people of Banten against the Dutch in 1888, even though he was not directly involved in it. He left Banten on 13 February 1876 and therefore he was in Mecca when the outbreak of the revolt occurred. Kartodirdjo gives an interesting account of the influence of his teachings and preaching on the mass population. He writes:

> Meanwhile Hadji Abdul Karim's sermons, promises and prophecies kept the people in a state of excitement. Evidently his predictions about the 'Last Judgement', the coming of the Mahdi, and the *djihad*, gave rise to general religious fermentation; the *djihad* spirit was animated by vivid awareness that their country was to be considered as a *dār al-Islām* temporarily administered by foreign rulers, and that one day it had to be reconquered. The ultimate goal that the Great Kjai had in view was the foundation of an Islamic state (1966: 180).

The magnetism and charisma meant that the influence of Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim on the followers of *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in Java was very great. Understandably, after he became the *shaykh* at the centre of the Sufi order in Mecca his influence significantly increased (Hurgronje 1931: 276-278). Snouck Hurgronje writes:

> Not only Jawah from the entire Archipelago, pilgrims and settlers, educated and uneducated thronged for the blessing of his spiritual excellence but even born and bred Mekkans (1931: 278).

Besides Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim, two other important vice-regents received

ijazah (licence) from Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas. They were Shaykh Talhah from Cirebon, West Java and Shaykh Ahmad Hasb Allah ibn Muhammad from Madura, East Java, both of whom settled in Mecca. During the life-time of Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim they continued to recognise him as the leader of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order throughout the world. This unity collapsed after the death of Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim, meaning that there was no central leadership. The upshot was that the Sufi order developed into several important local branches (Van Bruinessen 1989: 74). Little is known about these two vice-regents. Their influence was only limited only to the local branches of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in Java.

Snouck Hurgronje mentions two important members of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order from Banten, namely Tubagus Isma'il and Haji Marzuki, as well as a certain Shaykh Ahmad from Lampung (southern part of Sumatra) who played a significant role in the spread of the Sufi order. Despite their undoubted importance, it is not known if three influential figures were also vice-regents of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas. In his descriptions of the two Bantenese *kyai* and that of another *kyai* named Haji Wasit, Kartodirdjo (1966) has given interesting accounts, particularly of their influence on the revolt in Banten. By means of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order to which all three *kyai* belonged, they succeeded in convincing many other prominent *kyai* and the local population to carry out a *jihād* (holy war) against the Dutch colonial government.

What is known about Shaykh Talhah is that he began to spread the teaching of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in Pesantren Rancang, which belonged to his father, Kyai Talabuddin. Before he went to Mecca Shaykh Talhah had first founded a *pesantren* in Begong, Cirebon, in 1825. But this *pesantren* was destroyed by a flood while he was in Mecca. He then established another *pesantren* at Kalisapu, the first centre of the teaching of *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in the Cirebon area, where Shaykh Abdullah Mubarak known as Abah Sepuh and the founder of Suryalaya in Tasikmalaya, became his student (Dasuki 1990: 23-25).

There is incontrovertible proof that the three vice-regents of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas spread the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in Java and through these three lines the Sufi order has separated into branches. During the 1970s there were four *pesantren* that emerged as fully fledged centres of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order: Pesantren Darul Ulum in Rejoso, Jombang, East Java; Pesantren Futuhiyah in Mranggen Central Java; Pesantren Al-Falak in Pagentongan, Bogor; and Pesantren Suryalaya in Tasikmalaya, West Java (Van Bruinessen 1989: 74). Dhofier observes that, as well as these four *pesantren*, Tebuireng was then closely related to the development of this Sufi order in East Java (1982: 90). These four *pesantren*

became separate centres of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order through the three vice-regents of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas: Rejoso through the line of Shaykh Ahmad Hasb Allah Madura; Suryalaya through that of Shaykh Talhah; and Mranggen and Al-Falak through the line of Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim (Van Bruinessen 1989: 74-75).

D. Some Famous Indonesian *'Ulamā'* in Mecca and Sufism

During the second half of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth century, Mecca and Medina were important centres of Islam scholarship. Various *'ulamā'* from Indonesia became famous teachers in the two holy cities and they attracted a large number of students from Indonesia who came to study various branches of Islamic knowledge. It is important to emphasise that only a certain portion of students and *'ulamā'* from Indonesia chose to join a particular Sufi order. The majority of them followed the Sufi tradition of al-Ghazālī which was very strongly rooted in Islamic orthodoxy. Snouck Hurgronje observed that during the latter part of the nineteenth century the works of al-Ghazālī became the primary texts of Sufism taught at the Masjid al-Ḥarām in Mecca (1931: 200-2003).

> Accordingly at the lectures which are given on mysticism on Fridays and Tuesdays, but also whenever on other days, Law is not the chief item of the programme, we find for the most part the older men and far advanced students. The books used are all more or less excerpts or compilations from the works of Ghazali (Hurgronje 1931: 201).

MacDonald suggests that the importance of al-Ghazālī's teachings emerged at the end of the eighteenth century, the period which witnessed the emergence of Wahabism. Wahabism is a branch of the school of Ibn Taymiyyah, which was promoted by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, and one of its main themes was the rejection of the teachings of al-Ghazālī and every practice of Sufism (1965: 283-284). Al-Ghazālī's influence, however, remained strong, as MacDonald writes:

> The second movement is the revival of the influence of al-Ghazālī. That influence never became absolutely extinct and it seems to have remained especially strong in al-Yaman. In that corner of the Muslim world generations of Sufis lived comparatively undisturbed, and it was the Sayyid Murtada, a native of Zabid in Tihama, who by his great commentary on the Ihya of al-Ghazālī practically founded the modern study of that book ... [Thus] there can be no question of the wide influence which he is now exercising (1965: 284-285).

This would seem to indicate that it would not be wide of the mark to say that

the Sufi teachings of al-Ghazālī influenced the Islamic tradition in Mecca. Many Indonesian students and *'ulamā'* in Mecca, like Shaykh Muhammad Nawawi Banten, felt a very strong bond with the teachings of al-Ghazālī in the field of Sufism. Born in 1230 AH (AD 1815) in the village of Tanara in Banten, West Java, Shaykh Muhammad Nawawi later left Banten and settled in Mecca where he lived until he passed away at the end of the nineteenth century. His father was 'Umar ibn Arabi, a *penghulu* (bureaucratic *'ulamā'*) in Tanara, who had taught Nawawi and his brothers, Tamim and Ahmad himself. All three went to Mecca at an early age in order to pursue more advanced studies of Islamic Studies (Hurgronje 1931: 268).

In Mecca Shaykh Nawawi Banten began his studies under the older generation of great Indonesian teachers such as Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas and Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani Bima, then he progressed to such famous *'ulamā'* as Shaykh Yusuf Sumbulaweni, Shaykh Nahrawi and Shaykh 'Abd al-Hamid Daghestani (Hurgronje 1931: 268-269). After thirty years of assiduously improving his knowledge of Islam, Shaykh Nawawi Banten became a teacher at the Masjid al-Ḥarām in Mecca and he was also a prolific author. Shaykh Nawawi Banten's interest was in the literary sphere but he poured out more than forty books on a variety of topics, turning his attention to jurisprudence, Sufism, Arabic grammar, and theology, including a two-volume commentary on the Qur'ān known as *Tafsir Marah Labib*. Most of his books were published in Cairo, but a few were printed in Mecca (Johns 1980: 176). Today Shaykh Nawawi Banten is still a keyword in Indonesia and all his books are widely studied in *pesantren* in Java (Dhofier 1982: 89).

Shaykh Nawawi Banten did not join or lead a Sufi order as did Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas, his teacher. Nor did he counsel his students to join a Sufi order but he certainly did not prevent them from doing so. In his teaching of the works of Sufism he prepared to expand on those which focus on ethics rather than on philosophical or speculative thought (Hurgronje 1931: 271). He himself continued to practise Sufi teachings, particularly those of al-Ghazālī. Hurgronje notes that

> ... the mysticism practised by Nawawi himself is the moderate, ethical Sufism of al-Ghazālī in the more formalistic shape which it adopted in later times. His literary activity again evidences this, for in 1881, there was printed a commentary by him on Ghazali's *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* and 1884 a commentary upon a mystic poem of Zain al-Din al-Malibari ... (1931: 272).

Other *'ulamā'* who were near contemporaries of Shaykh Nawawi Banten were Shaykh Mahfuz from Tremas, Pacitan, and Kyai Khalil from Bangkalan, Madura, both in East Java. Like Shaykh Nawawi Banten, Shaykh Mahfuz settled at Mecca and became a famous teacher at the Masjid al-Ḥarām.

Although this prominent writer is well known in Java as a Hadīth (Traditions of the Prophet) scholar, he, like Shaykh Nawawi Banten, also maintained the Sufi tradition (Dhofier 1982: 90-95).

Kyai Khalil Bangkalan was yet another of the ranks of Indonesians who studied in Mecca during the second half of the nineteenth century. Unlike Shaykh Nawawi Banten and Shaykh Mahfuz Tremas, he did not teach in Mecca but returned to his homeland where he became a prominent leader of *pesantren* in Madura. The majority of famous *kyai* and founders of famous *pesantren* in Java during the late nineteenth and in the early twentieth century were Kyai Khalil's students. Among them were Kyai Hashim Ash'ari of Pesantren Tebureing, Shaykh Abdullah Mubarak of Pesantren Suryalaya, Kyai Munawwir of Pesantren Krapyak of Yogyakarta, Kyai Manaf 'Abd al-Karim of Pesantren Lirboyo, Kyai Ma'sum of Pesantren Lasem, and Kyai Muhammad Siddiq of Jember (Dhofier 1982: 92).

Kyai Khalil followed the same path as Shaykh Nawawi Banten and Shaykh Mahfuz Tremas in that he practised Sufi teachings without being affiliated with a particular Sufi order. Dhofier says that he was blessed with a combination of the characteristics of Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim in terms of spiritual charisma and, of Shaykh Mahfuz Tremas in terms of intellectual achievement, even though in overall quality he occupied a slightly lower rung to them. He was known as a *Wali* (saint) in Java although he never led a Sufi order and was not an expert in Sufism (Dhofier 1982: 91-92). Haji Abubakar Atjeh writes:

> As we know it, Kyai Khalil was very pious and *zuhud* [ascetic], so that he was loved by his students and he was called Waliyullah Kyai Khalil with the purpose of paying respect and loyalty (1957: 141).

As we know it, Kyai Khalil was very pious and *zuhud* [ascetic], so that he was loved by his students and he was called Waliyullah Kyai Khalil with the purpose of paying respect and loyalty (1957: 141).

The role of Kyai Khalil in the spread of traditional Islam and the *pesantren* tradition in Java was continued by many of his students. One of the most important of these figures was Kyai Hashim Ash'ari, the founder of Pesantren Tebuireng. His great role in the process of the Islamisation of Java and in the continuation of the tradition of Indonesian *'ulamā'* in the late ninteenth century is described by Woodward in these terms:

> It is likely that the combination of the dominance of 'sober' Sufism in Mecca in the late nineteenth century and the prestige and organisational abilities of K.H. Hashim Ash'ari were responsible for the transformation of the textual and theological orientations of traditional Javanese Islam (Woodward 1989: 136).

CHAPTER THREE
GENERAL FEATURES OF SUFISM WITHIN THE PESANTREN TRADITION

Sufism is a complex amalgam of various ideas and practices of which two of the most important are asceticism and mysticism. In the previous chapter I have examined aspects of Sufism practised by Indonesian *'ulamā'* in Mecca in the latter part of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth century. In this chapter I shall examine general features of Sufism within the *pesantren* tradition. I shall discuss the concepts of *taṣawwuf* and *ṭarīqah* as these are understood within the *pesantren* tradition, the doctrinal bases of Sufism understood in the *pesantren*, the position of Sufism and *sharī'ah* in the *pesantren*, and examine the Sufi texts used in the *pesantren*.

A. *Taṣawwuf* and *Ṭarīqah*

Building on the concepts of their predecessors and their own insights, the *kyai* in Java have attempted to redefine concepts used within the realm of Sufism. In doing so the roots of the tradition were not ignored and the links to al-Ghazālī's Sufi tradition were maintained by various *'ulamā'* such as Shaykh Nawawi Banten, Shaykh Mahfuz Tremas, Kyai Khalil Bangkalan, and Hadrah al-Shaykh Hashim Ash'ari, as well as by various *shaykh* of Sufi orders such as Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas and Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim.

In the *pesantren* tradition the concepts of *taṣawwuf* and *ṭarīqah* are often used interchangeably. This is perfectly understandable in view of the fact that they basically possess a similar meaning. "The *Ṭarīqah* or Spiritual Path which is usually known as *Taṣawwuf* or Sufism is the inner and esoteric dimension of Islam" (Nasr 1988: 121). K.H. Shamsuri Badawi describes Sufism as follows: "*Tasawwuf* is *tasfiyyah al-qalb 'an al-ṣifāt al-madhmūmāt*, the purification of the soul from disgraceful characteristics" (1985: 38). Similarly, K.H. A. Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin, known as Abah Anom, suggests that Sufism cleanses the heart of passion and its heinous inclinations by teaching exercises to control passion, to develop a noble character and to follow all the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad as pertinaciously as possible (1988: 107). These two formulations are appropriate when they are stated as the aims of Sufi practices. For one, Dhofier says that the *kyai* in Java comprehend Sufism in accordance with such aims, namely:

> ... the teachings and rituals of moral perfectness based on the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth [the Traditions of the Prophet] and the acts of devotion to God and of avoidance of worldly life ... and performing obligatory rituals as well as recommended rituals as much as possible, but not necessarily performing *dhikir* [remembrance] and *salawat* [invocation] according to the *Kutub al-Awliyā'* (books of saints) (Dhofier 1978: 9-10).

Given this intellectual atmosphere, Sufism, as understood in the *pesantren*, includes teachings on *faḍā'il al-'amal* (perfection of behaviour). The best rituals such as a number *ibadah sunnah* (recommended rituals), and the observation of the proper tenants of morality are performed as a complement to the obligatory duties prescribed in the *sharī'ah* (legal and formal dimension of Islam), particularly as an adjunct to the five basic principles of Islam – pronouncing the Confession of Faith (*shahādah*), performing the set prayers (*ṣalāh*) five times a day, fasting (*ṣaum*) during the month of Ramadan (the ninth month of the Lunar Calendar), giving alms (*zakāh*), and performing the pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*).

Ṭarīqah (or in Javanese *tarekat*) basically means 'path'. Within the *pesantren* tradition *ṭarīqah* is understood as it is in Sufism as

> A scrupulous observance of Islamic rules either in ritual and social matters, that is, by observing *wirā'ī* [a worldview in which the observer always avoids doing both *harām* (forbidden) and *makrūh* (undesirable) things], performing recommended rituals before and after performing obligatory prayers and practising *riyālah* [an attitude in which one eats and dresses minimally] (Abdul Jalil 1963: 11).

On the basis of this definition of *ṭarīqah*, Dhofier felt compelled to note that

> ... within the *pesantren* tradition, the term *taṣawwuf* is used to indicate only the intellectual aspect of Sufism, while its ethical and practical aspects, which are regarded as more important than its intellectual aspect, are referred to by the word *tarekat* (1980a: 256).

There is general agreement that *ṭarīqah* is a practical method (Trimingham 1971: 3). In an attempt to provide a reason for the interchangeable use of both terms, Madjid argues this is because Sufism in Indonesia seems to be limited only to its practical aspect, and that its philosophical aspects have tended to be discarded. As a result, the term *ṭarīqah* is more commonly used that the term *taṣawwuf*, particularly among ordinary Muslims (Madjid 1988: 105). There is a good deal of truth in his assumption that *ṭarīqah* does not take much account of the philosophical aspects of Sufism (Madjid 1988: 107). Therefore his assertion of the neglect of the philosophical and the elevation of the practical is apposite particularly when it refers to Sufism practised in the *pesantren*. The definitions of *taṣawwuf* and *ṭarīqah* given by some *kyai* potently tend to

exclude the philosophical or speculative aspects of Sufism. Nicolson's conclusion that "now, the essence of Sufism is best displayed in its extreme type, which is pantheistic and speculative rather than ascetic or devotional" (1975: 27) is unfortunately true when applied to Sufism within the *pesantren* tradition.

Nowadays in the *pesantren* tradition *taṣawwuf* or Sufism is not synonymous with mysticism. As Nicolson points out that "... Sufi has a specific religious connotation, and is restricted by usage to those mystics who profess the Mohammedan faith" (1975: 3). However, Trimingham's suggestion that "from it [the term Sufi first applied to Muslim ascetics] comes the form *taṣawwuf* for 'mysticism" (1971: 1) is inappropriate as well when applied to Sufism in the *pesantren*. As a comparison, Trimingham stresses the practical way of achieving Reality. He writes:

> Mysticism is a particular method of approach to Reality (*Ḥaqīqa*, another special Sufi term), making use of intuitive and emotional spiritual faculties which are generally dormant and latent unless called into play through training under guidance (1971: 1).

In contrast to Dhofier, Trimingham tends to ignore the intellectual aspects of mysticism in relation to *taṣawwuf* in the pesantren. Trimingham's concept of mysticism is relatively narrow because it is confined to method. It is impossible even to add the adjective "Islamic" to mysticism. Therefore, Sufism, which is often translated as "Islamic mysticism", is unacceptable in the *pesantren* because this gives the impression of a great influence of non-Islamic culture still being exerted and because the word "mysticism" automatically connotes "Javanese mysticism" which is excluded from the realm of Islamic orthodoxy.

Pursuing the meaning of *taṣawwuf* and *ṭarīqah*, K.H. Shamsuri Badawi points out that *ṭarīqah* means the way to achieve the condition of being a Sufi (1985: 38). *Ṭarīqah* can be divided into two types: *ṭarīqah 'āmmah* (the general way) is any pious act which is routinely performed (*istiqāmah*) with good intention, and *ṭarīqah khāṣṣah* (the special way), a set of *dhikir* (remembrance) which is continually performed ritually and is received from a certain Sufi teacher who is linked to and/or transmits the knowledge from the Prophet Muhammad (1985: 38). In other words, within the *pesantren* tradition the term *ṭarīqah* has two meanings. In its generic meaning *ṭarīqah* means the way towards perfectness and closeness to God in order to gain the love of God. In its second meaning it refers to the practice of certain *dhikir* (remembrance) and *wirid* (routine form of *dhikir*) as practised by Sufi orders (Dhofier 1978: 10). Therefore Trimingham's definition of *ṭarīqah* is similar only to the second meaning of the term *ṭarīqah*, that is,

> ... a practical method (other terms were *madhhab*, *ri'āya*, and *sulūk*) to guide a seeker by tracing a way of thought, feeling, and action, leading through a succession of 'stage' (*maqāmāt*, in integral association with psychological experiences called 'states' *ahwāl*) to experience of divine reality (*haqīqa*) (Trimingham 1971: 3-4).

In his attempt to distinguish *taṣawwuf* from *ṭarīqah*, Dhofier makes the distinction that "a follower of *ṭarīqah* is also a Sufi, but a Sufi does not have to be a follower of *ṭarīqah*" (1978: 9). Al-Ghazālī, for instance, was not a follower of any *ṭarīqah* in the second meaning, but he not only performed Sufi teachings, he also formulated his teachings. On these grounds al-Ghazālī is classified as an individual Sufi, the first category of Sufi in the history of Islamic world. Several Indonesian *'ulamā'* described in the previous chapter are also included in this category. But, generally speaking, the term *ṭarīqah* is used to include all paths chosen by adherents to achieve closeness to God.

B. Doctrinal Bases of Sufism as Understood in the *Pesantren*

Broadly speaking, Sufism is frequently regarded as an obligation within the *pesantren* tradition as was suggested by K.H. Shamsuri Badawi (1985: 38). It is an aspect of Islamic orthodoxy. In other words, everyone has to practise ways to achieve closeness to God. Indubitably, most *kyai*, both as followers and non-followers of a certain Sufi order, propagate Sufism as a dominant value in the *pesantren*. This is because within the *pesantren* tradition Sufism is considered to be based on the teachings of the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth (the Traditions of the Prophet). To borrow Madjid's term, it is built on the Qur'ān. He writes:

> The dimension of *taṣawwuf* has actually very strong roots in the Qur'ān, far stronger than the legal orientation. Islamic law, as a discipline of knowledge, was born as a necessary answer to the political and military expansion of Islam. The law itself, does not actually have much to say about religion (1985b: 4).

Madjid goes on to explain that in the Qur'ān it is said that it is *hudan li al-muttaqīn* (guidance for the pious), but piety itself is always discussed under *faḍā'il al-'amal* (perfection of behaviour') within the realm of Sufism. *Ikhlās* (sincerity) and *taqwā* ('god-wariness'), Madjid argues, are absent in law texts, but are found in Sufi texts (1985b: 4).

K.H. Shamsuri Badawi suggests that the *sharī'ah* is essential, but that it does not solve all the problems in religious life.

> It is apparent that the Muslim community needs to enrich itself with inward holiness. Inward corruption, for instance, is the source of many disasters, especially if leaders

> suffer from it (1985: 39).

The way of life based on Sufism as this is understood in the *pesantren* is regarded as that practised by the Prophet Muhammad. Over and above this, there is a great number of the Prophet's sayings which emphasise the importance of prayers, *dhikir* (remembrance) and moral teachings such as asceticism, sincerity, god-wariness, patience, modesty, and so forth. So in the *pesantren* the Prophet Muhammad himself is regarded as a Sufi. The Prophet was the most pious man among all mankind who unfailingly maintained all the best rituals and perfection during his life. This exemplary excellence of the Prophet is, of course, well known not only in the *pesantren* but is common knowledge among all Muslims over the world. His morality was also sublime. There is a Ḥadīth which is generally memorised in the *pesantren* which says that his morality is the Qur'ān itself. In other words, his morality is reflected in the complete doctrines and teachings of the Qur'ān. To strengthen my point, I quote Danner's conclusion that

> the Qur'ān is really the first and foremost mystical text of Islam and that the Prophet is the first and the greatest of the Sufi sages and saints, even though the term Sufi, in reality, is of later origin (1987: 242-243).

Such views are by no means universal and many scholars deny the existence of this spiritual dimension of Islam. Nicolson writes that "it is right to regard the Sufis as esoteric students of the Quran, but, not, I think, to see in Sufism the pure result of Quranic study" (1952: 212-213).

In the *pesantren*, there are at least three Islamic concepts which are considered to be the doctrinal basis of Sufism: *iḥsān* (excellence); *ikhlāṣ* (sincerity); and *taqwā* (god-wariness). The *kyai* in Java stress that Sufism is an elaboration of the Ḥadīth on *iḥsān*. *Iḥsān* itself is one of the three dimensions of the religion: *islām* (submission); *īmān* (faith); and *iḥsān* (excellence).

> *Islām* is that you bear the witness that indeed there is no god but Allah and indeed Muhammad is His messenger, perform prayers, pay alms, fast during the month of Ramadan, and perform the pilgrimage in Mecca if you are capable. *Īmān* is that you believe in God, His Angels, His Sacred Books, His messengers, the Day of Judgement, and His predestination. *Iḥsān* is that you worship Him as if you were to see Him. If you do not see Him, He indeed sees you (Hasyim 1984: 18-19).

Anyone who adheres to *islām* as his/her religion is called a Muslim, but such a person is not necessarily a *Mu'min* (believer) because in the hierarchy the level of *īmān* (faith) is higher than that of *islām*. *Īmān* contains elements of piety and a continuous relationship with God. *Iḥsān* is the highest level in this

hierarchy which penetrates to the core of the religion (Dhofier 1982: 146). Islam essentially means submission or surrender to the Divine Will, whereas *īmān* is faith in the Divine Presence. *Ihsān* operates upon the three dimensions of the religion and transforms them into so-called Sufism (Nasr 1988: 133-134). In other words, while *islām* is regarded as *'amal zāhir* (outer behaviour) and *īmān* is *'amal bāṭin* (inner behaviour), *iḥsān* is the soul of both of them (Hasyim 1984: 22). The definition of *iḥsān* (excellence) as "to adore Allah as though thou didst see Him, and if thou doest not see Him He nonetheless sees thee" is the essential meaning of Sufism (Nasr 1988: 134).

In his elaboration of the above-mentioned Ḥadīth, K.H. Achmad Siddiq points out that *islām* is included in *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *īmān* in *tauḥīd* (Islamic theology), and *iḥsān* in *tasawwuf* (Sufism). He goes on to stress that everyone is obliged to practise Sufism as he or she is obliged to practise the teachings of Islamic law and theology. Unlike Islamic law and theology, however, Sufism may be practised in accordance with one's own ability (Nahid 1992: 1-2).

As an elaboration of the meaning of *islām, īmān,* and *iḥsān,* in his Friday preaching, K.H. Shamsuri of Tebuireng distinguished four levels of *tauḥīd* (faith): first, *tauḥīd zindīq* is the faith of a person who has professed the *shahādah* (the Confession of Faith) – "I bear witness that there is no god but Allah and I bear witness that Muhammad is His messenger" – but has not yet performed the real teachings of faith. Second, *tauḥīd mu'min*, is the faith of a Muslim who attempts to devote himself to God. Third, *tauḥīd ṣiddīqīn*, is the faith of a Muslim whose aims and activities in life are submitted only to God, but he or she is still attached to the worldly life. Finally, *tauḥīd muqarrabīn* is the faith of *awliyā'* (saints) whose life is totally surrendered to God (Dhofier 1982: 146).

Kyai as well as *santri* always expect to achieve the highest level of *tauḥīd*, that is *tauḥīd muqarrabīn* or, at the very least, *tauḥīd ṣiddīqīn*. In order to obtain either of them requires for more than perfoming all obligatory rituals as the minimal teachings of Islam. Such efforts have to be complemented by various recommended rituals and other rituals practised by the Prophet Muhammad and his companions. Quite apart from these prescriptions, morality plays an important role in the Sufi tradition in particular, as of course it does in Islamic teachings in general.

Kyai frequently associate *ihsān* with the concept of *ikhlās* (sincerity) as the highest teaching of Islam (Dhofier 1982: 146). In the first chapter of a Ḥadīth (Tradition) book entitled *Riyād al-Ṣāliḥīn* on *ikhlās*, Imam Nawawi quotes some verses of the Qur'ān from three chapters that must be quited to shed more light on this concept:

1. And they have been commended no more that this: to worship Allah, offering Him sincere devotion, being true (in faith); to establish regular prayer; and to practise regular charity; and that is the religion right and straight (98: 5).
2. It is not their meat nor their blood, that reaches Allah: It is your piety that reaches Him (22: 37).
3. Say: "Whether ye hide what is in your hearts or reveal it, Allah knows it all (3: 29).

Imam Nawawi provides thirteen Ḥadīth with regard to the importance of *ikhlāṣ* in worshipping God. One of them is: "Indeed God does not see your body and face, but He directly sees your intention and sincerity" (Bahreisj 1983: 17). In his elaboration of the meaning of the Ḥadīth on the three dimensions of the religion, Hasyim also suggests that in Islam *iḥsān* means *ikhlāṣ*. *Ikhlāṣ* is defined as performing religious rituals taking full pleasure in and being entirely happy with God's command, without expecting any reward and respect from anyone (1984: 22). It also means "religious piety" or "devotion to a higher cause without any consideration of self-interest" (Nakamura 1977: 14). Woodward quotes Hasyim's discussion of the meaning of *ikhlāṣ*.

> What is this *ikhlāṣ*? *Ikhlāṣ* means: that all devotions are performed only because of Allah. That is, the devotion of a *mu'min* [I., from A.,: believer], which one calls *taqarruḥ*, is directed exclusively towards Allah, not performed for humans, to obtain the praise of humans, the love of humans or any purpose other than being *taqarruḥ* to Allah.
> Therefore, *ikhlāṣ* means to cleanse the deed from the desire for human attention (1989: 84).

Ikhlāṣ is therefore the central meaning of religion. In the Qur'ān the term *ikhlāṣ* is perpetuated in a chapter called *al-ikhlāṣ* (Purity of Faith) which contains the teachings of the unity of God.

> Say: He is Allah, the One and Only; Allah, the Eternal, Absolute; He begetteth not, nor is He begotten; and there is none like unto Him (112: 1-4).

K.H. Abdul Jalil distinguishes three levels of *ikhlāṣ*. The lowest level is the *ikhlāṣ* of a Muslim who sincerely performs religious duties and expects that God will give him the reward of a better life both in this world and in the Hereafter. The second level is the *ikhlāṣ* of a Muslim who sincerely performs his religious duties and expects God's reward of better life in Paradise only. The highest level is the *ikhlāṣ* of a Muslim whose aim in performing religious duties is solely to achieve the state of closeness to God (1963: 28-29).

In *al-Hikam*, one of the most important texts on Sufism used in the *pesantren*, *ikhlāṣ* is explained as follows:

> Performance of religious rituals is an upright frame. *Ikhlāṣ* is its soul. *Ikhlāṣ* comprises several levels in accordance to one's position and spiritual capability. The *ikhlāṣ* of *al-Abrār* ('good people') is that they observe Islamic rules in order to expect the rewards which God has promised. This level of *ikhlāṣ* is a realisation of the Qur'ān: *iyyāk na'bud*, "Thee do we worship" (1: 5) which means that we never make You an ally in our worship. Then, the *ikhlāṣ* of *al-Muqarrabūn* ('people directed to God'), which is higher than the *ikhlāṣ* of *al-Abrār*, is an application of *lā haul wa lā quwwah illā bi Allāh*, there is neither ability nor power to do anything but by God's direction. All they do is because God has directed them. This is a realisation of the Qur'ān: *iyyāk nasta'īn*, "Thine aid we seek" (1: 5). The act of devotion of *al-Abrār* is called *li Allāh*, to act because of Allah, whereas that of *al-Muqarrabūn* is called *bi Allāh*, to act with the help of Allah. The first category results in reward whereas the other penetrates into heart and feeling (Bahreisy 1977: 13-14).

In a nutshell, the core of *ikhlāṣ* is to perform religious duties only because of God or with the help of God. It is clear that the concept of *ikhlāṣ* is the doctrinal foundation of Sufism, which is strongly rooted in both the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth. *Ikhlāṣ* also reflects the esoteric dimension of Islam. After extensively discussing Hasyim's exegesis of four verses of the Qur'ān on *ikhlāṣ*, Woodward concludes that in Islam a person's inner states are as important as that person's external acts of devotion (1989: 87).

In addition to *iḥsān* and *ikhlāṣ*, the word *taqwā*, which can be translated as 'god-wariness', is often used to apply to Sufism.

> The root of the word *taqwā* has two interwoven senses: to fear and to protect oneself. The basic meaning in the Kuranic contexts is to stand in awe of God, to fear the consequences of acting against His will, and to do everything in one's power to protect oneself from these consequences. The term implies observing the religion meticulously, sincerely, and with full presence of mind (Chittick 1992: 12).

In both the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth the word *taqwā* is mentioned far more frequently than either *ihsān* or *ikhlāṣ*. Both the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth often commend Muslim believers to cultivate *taqwā* because *taqwā* is regarded as the highest quality of mankind before God. The word *taqwā* also dominates the *kitab kuning* (yellow books' or books in Arabic script) used in the *pesantren* milieu. In the *pesantren* the concept is understood as observing all God's commandments while avoiding all His prohibitions under all circumstances. Taken in this sense *taqwā* includes both the inner and outer aspects of worship.

To sum up, on the basis of the three concepts, that is, *ihsān* (excellence), *ikhlāṣ* (sincerity), and *taqwā* (god-wariness) that have strong roots

in the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth, the two basic sources of Islam, Sufism is not an additional dimension of Islam. Like Islamic jurisprudence and theology, Sufism is an original dimension of Islam.

C. Sufism and the *Sharī'ah* in the *Pesantren*

Pesantren continue to stress the indivisibility of Sufism and the *sharī'ah* (the legal-formal dimension of Islam). Indubitably, Sufism and the *sharī'ah* are important in religious life. Dhofier observes that the *kyai* claim to follow the Malikite tradition concerning relationships between Sufism and the *sharī'ah*, which K.H. Shamsuri Badawi (1985: 39) also asserts.

> He who learns Jurisprudence and neglects Sufism becomes a reprobate; he who learns Sufism and neglects jurisprudence becomes an apostate; and he who combines both attains the realisation of the Truth (Dhofier 1980a: 278).

This shows the appropriateness of Woodward's proposition in which Sufism cannot replace the *sharī'ah*, regardless of a person's achievement in Sufism. The *pesantren* maintain that the *sharī'ah* is important for everyone who enters and masters Sufism. By the same token, they reject his other proposition which distinguishes students from masters of Sufism in terms of the importance of the *sharī'ah*. This proposition might be applicable to the so-called Islam Java, which holds that aspects of the *sharī'ah* other than life-crisis ceremonies are optional (Woodward 1989: 7), but not to the *pesantren*. Nicolson's statement below is also inapplicable to the *pesantren*.

> Many *walis*, however, regard the law as a curb that is indeed necessary so long as one remains in the disciplinary stage, but may be discarded by the saints. Such a person, they declare, stands on higher plane than ordinary men, and is not to be condemned for actions which outwardly seem irreligious (1975: 127).

Generally speaking, contradictions between the *sharī'ah* and Sufism do not appear in the *pesantren*. This ties in with Nasr's view that within Sufism there are not only *sharī'ah* doctrines to protect Sufism from deviation but also a mechanism to ensure that it does not deviate from the *sharī'ah* (1988: 121-146). The *sharī'ah* occupies a dominant position within the *pesantren* tradition, as is aptly described by Wahid:

> A dominant position in forming values in the *pesantren* is held by Islamic law, then followed by the Sufi tradition. Values contrary to Islamic law, although small matters (such as money interest), certainly do not have a room in the *pesantren*. Therefore, it is not appropriate to view *pesantren* with things outside it (1988: 51).

It is understood in the *pesantren* that disregarding *sharī'ah* will undermine the basic principles of Islam. This is considered very dangerous to the Islamic faith. K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri points out that:

> A person will not gain the level of Sufi if he does not master theology and jurisprudence. If a person claims to be a Sufi while his faith is depraved, his faith is fallacious, his Islamic law is eschewed such as leaving prayers and fasting during the month of Ramadan, he is actually a Javanese mystic who is removed from religion [Islam], or adheres to beliefs outside Islam. He follows a deviant way although he is well known as a *'dukun keramat'* or *'ahli nujum'*, who claims to have a knowledge of supernatural matters, *ngreti sadurung winarah*. One who follows only the inner path but leaves the *sharī'ah* runs counter to the characteristics of his *fitrah* (nature), because man is not just a spiritual creature, but consists of inner as well as of outer elements (Zuhri 1987: 71).

This ineluctably underlines the importance of the *sharī'ah* in the *pesantren*. It leaves no shadow of doubt about the attitude of *pesantren* towards one who eschews it. The *sharī'ah* is much more dominant than Sufism because it lies at the very heart of Islamic principles which every Muslim is obliged to practise. Sufism, on the other hand, is practised to complete the *sharī'ah* in order to achieve closeness to God. Sometimes a person is not blamed if he does not embrace Sufi teachings, but he is not complete. In other words, in order to achieve *fadā'il al-'amal* (virtuous behaviour), a person has to strife to achieve this perfection with the rituals which are regarded by the Sufis as excellent (Wahid 1988: 51). Wahid also maintains that:

> While *sharī'ah* prescription can be compared with the body (*wadah kasar*), the excellent rituals that are performed are the soul of the body; the combination of both elements is the highest culmination of values developed in the *pesantren* (1988: 52).

In the *pesantren* subjects like jurisprudence, theology, and ethics are first taught to all students. The argument is that the teachings of Sufism must be proceeded by the *sharī'ah* because only the one who has understood and practised *sharī'ah* can enter Sufism (Madjid 1988: 106). Kyai Hashim Ash'ari strongly forbade Muslims to enter the world of Sufism before they mastered *sharī'ah* (Madjid 1985: 6), and this creates the impression that he was not involved in Sufi practices during his life.

The main reason for not teaching Sufism to all students is basically to maintain the existence of Islamic orthodoxy. Another reason is because the *pesantren* is generally a school for young boys in which they learn basic religious knowledge (Woodward 1989: 146). Geertz puts it in this way:

> Many orthodox *kijajis* consider it [*tasawwuf*] somewhat dangerous to teach, particularly

> to younger students, because it is difficult and because too much philosophy or mysticism in the hands of the young tends to lead to heresy (1960: 186).

It is deviation from Islamic orthodoxy, such as abandoning the *sharī'ah*, that the *kyai* mean when they speak of the 'danger' of teaching Sufism. A person who wishes to tread the path is required to comprehend not only basic teaching of Islam but also to have some advanced knowledge of Islam. Furthermore, not only is strong faith essential, but such a person must strive to hone his character to achieve excellence if he is to learn and practise Sufism. Dhofier (1980b: 266) writes that the majority of Javanese *kyai* regard Sufism as an essential aspect of Islamic teaching that should be taught only to mature students who have a thorough knowledge of Islam. They all share the same opinion that to teach Sufism to immature students of Islam is dangerous. Therefore, they tend to discourage young people from participating in a particular Sufi order while encouraging middle-aged people, who in general have a considerably higher economic position, to join a Sufi order. Similarly, Woodward observes that:

> most *kyai* discourage young *santri* from becoming involved in the more esoteric aspect of Sufism. It is thought to be dangerous and improper to reveal mystical truths to students before they have mastered the basics. To do so would confuse them, and might permanently impede their stereological progress (1989: 146).

That reason that the *pesantren* maintain the indivisibility of Sufism and the *sharī'ah* is due to the fact that books on Islamic law used in the *pesantren* are mostly Sufi oriented; various Sufi teachings are also taught in Ḥadīth and ethics. Many *kyai*, well-versed in Islamic law, also teach various books on Sufism. Wahid provides a good example of this. Kyai Bisri Shamsuri, he claims, is a *fiqh* (Islamic law) *kyai* who taught Sufi and ethics-oriented books on *fiqh* such as *Qaṭr al-Ghaith*, *Bidāyah al-Hidāyah*, and *al-Naṣā'iḥ al-Dīniyyah* (Wahid 1984: 9). Dhofier then assumes that one of the reasons that the term *kyai* is more common than the term *'ulamā'* is because within the *pesantren* tradition that title is used to indicate a scholar who has mastered both the *sharī'ah* and Sufism (1982: 34-35). "The *'ulamā'* taught the *sharī'ah*, the way of daily life [and] the Sufi taught the *tarīqah*, the way of mystical life" (Hodgson 1974: 219). Thus, the term *kyai* in Java includes both functions of *'ulamā'* and Sufi.

To sum up, the *pesantren* tradition is a tradition in which both the *sharī'ah* and Sufism are neither opposed to one another nor separated from one another. Piety as regulated by both the *sharī'ah* and Sufism is used as a criterion to measure a santri's loyalty to his *pesantren*.

D. Sufi Texts Used in the *Pesantren*

In her account of Mas Rahmat's autobiography, Kumar has shown that most Malay and Javanese literature containing the doctrine of *wahdah al-wujūd* (Unity of Existence) and the seven grades of being (*martabat tujuh*) were already being studied in some *pesantren* in the nineteenth century (1985: 64-72). Then, as there was a marked tendency in nineteenth-century Mecca to attribute Sufism to al-Ghazālī, the teachings of this scholar have strongly influenced the *pesantren* tradition up to the present. The direct relationship between *pesantren* and the centres of Islamic orthodoxy was a factor that made al-Ghazālī's works essential to the *pesantren* tradition (Woodward 1989: 135). This then reduced the influence of pantheistic teachings which had previously held some sway in some *pesantren* in Java.

The interpretations of verses of the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth with a Sufi content never lead to pantheism. To illustrate, I quote some examples below.

> There is nothing I (God) prefer except the way My servants worship Me as I commanded them. And My servants shall not stop worshiping Me until I love them. When I love them, I shall be ears with which they hear, eyes with which they see, hands with which they hit, and feet with which they walk (Madjid 1988: 106).

This so-called *ḥadīth qudsī* is, however, not understood as "God manifest in men". Instead, it indicates the possibility of being the closest servant of God (Madjid 1988: 106). "Return unto thy God" (89: 27) is interpreted as "come closer to Me or to take a place beside Me". "Prostrate yourselves before Adam" (2: 34) is understood as "pay respect to Adam". Similarly, the wise saying "He who knows himself knows God" is understood as a teaching that commands men to know themselves as the servant of God as well as to recognise their limitations in order that they know the greatness of God (Dhofier 1980a: 277, n. 18).

Woodward points out that the decline of pantheistic teachings was a result of changes in the textual and theological orientations in Islam in Java. Woodward observes:

> The [*wahdah al-wujūd*] textual tradition is not used as instructional material in contemporary *pesantren*. Many younger *santri* are unaware of the existence of the tradition ... The theological orientation of *santri* Sufism has changed largely because of shifts in the textual basis of the tradition (1989: 134-135).

Madjid is also convinced that the majority of *pesantren* today not only are free from this pantheistic tendency but also view such a tendency with suspicion. He writes that:

> ... expecting that the followers of Sufism in the *pesantren* understand Javanese mysticism is useless. Generally they do not know types of literature as known in *kebatinan* or *kejawen*, they even view them with suspicion. The performer of *tawassul* is based only on Arabic sources as taught by *kyai* or teachers (1988: 105).

The *Serat Centini*, the most recent version of which was written in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, still mentions the books of *al-Insān al-Kāmil fī Ma'rifah al-Awākhir wa al-Awā'il* by 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jīlī, in addition to al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* and *al-Malībārī's al-Adhkiyā'* as books used in the *pesantren* (Soebardi 1971: 339-340). Moving on slightly in his research on books used in the *pesantren* in Java and Madura in 1886, Van den Berg (1886) does not mention any pantheistic Sufi books. In his work he lists three Sufi books which are regarded as orthodox: *al-Ḥikam* of Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī; *Shu'ūb al-Īmān* of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ījī; and *Hidāyah al-Azkiyā' ilā Ṭarīq al-Awliyā'* of Zain al-Dīn al-Malībārī, besides three books of al-Ghazālī, which are; *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*; *Bidāyah al-Hidāyah*; and *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*.

As al-Ghazālī's influence on the *pesantren* tradition grew greater, the impact of speculative and pantheistic Sufism declined. Van Bruinessen observes that two dimensions of the classical intellectual tradition, which have disappeared from the *pesantren* world today, are philosophy and metaphysics. He supports Van den Berg's notes which do not allude to books on *waḥdah al-wujūd* (unity of being). It may be inferred that the absence of such books indicates that they are no longer studied in the majority of *pesantren*. There is always the possibility that the books might be in use in some *pesantren* even though they are only taught to selected students (1992b: 79).

The latest data on the books used in the *pesantren* today reveal the continuing great influence of al-Ghazālī's works which has already been suggested by Van Bruinessen. Van Bruinessen, who conducted research on the *kitab kuning* ('yellow books' or books in Arabic script) used in the *pesantren* milieu in Java, Sumatra, and South Kalimantan, observes:

> The section on *tasawwuf* is strongly dominated by Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī and his *Iḥyā'*, *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* and *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*. There are various *pesantren* that specialise in the teaching of the *Iḥyā'*; all three works mentioned have been translated, at least in part, into several Indonesian languages (1990a: 258).

Al-Ghazālī who was a great Sufi, theologian and a doctor of the law lent strong support to Ash'arite theology which was one of the factors which paved the way for it to become well established in Islam. This form of theology has therefore taken deep root in the *pesantren*. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, who was not himself a Sufi, regarded Sufis as being the best group among mankind (Nasr

1988: 126). In the law, Al-Ghazālī supported the Shāfi'ite tradition, which is the system of law which is generally adhered to in the *pesantren* and indeed is acknowledged by the majority of Muslims in Indonesia. It is widely known that al-Shāfi'ī, the founder of this school of law, once pointed out that there were three matters which pleased him: "giving up pretence, tempering of the personality with kindness, and following the path of the Sufi" (Nasr 1988: 126). Cogently, al-Ghazālī is regarded as the scholar who succeeded in uniting the rational scholastic Ash'arite theology and the Shāfi'ite rigid legal system with flexible and intuitive Sufism (Madjid 1988: 107). He "elevated Sufism to an exalted position within the fold of orthodoxy" (Al-Attas 1963: 9). His excellence has been admired not only by Muslims but also by most scholars throughout the world who have come into contact with his works. It is fitting that the title "*Ḥujjah al-Islām*", which means "the reason of Islam" or the protector of Islam, has been bestowed on him (Madjid 1988: 102).

In the study of Sufism in *pesantren*, al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* is regarded in most *pesantren* as the most important accomplishment which students may achieve (Dhofier 1980a: 279). It is seen as the final result of a journey which is begun by studying law, followed by theology, then philosophy, and ends with Sufism. In other words, it is "a spectacular, tiring, long, complete record of the results of an intellectual and spiritual journey in order to achieve the so-called "truth" (Mas'udi 1985: 77). It contains an invitation to revive Sufism in Muslim life. *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* reinterprets Islamic laws as a guide for living a spiritual life in order to gain salvation and to obtain the secrets of God through absolutely unstinting love of God (Von Grunebaum 1953: 137).

It is important to note that under the influence of the teachings of al-Ghazālī in the *pesantren* tradition, the separation between Sufism and ethics (*akhlāq*) tends to blur. It has already been emphasised earlier in this work that Sufism is taught to mature students. At this juncture it is important to realise that this does not mean that aspects of Sufism are not taught to younger students at all. Some aspects of Sufism are indeed transferred to them and are known as *akhlāq* (morality). In the educational system of *pesantren*, aspects of Sufism are taught under the heading *akhlāq/taṣawwuf* (ethics/Sufism). *Akhlāq* (ethics) is frequently included under Sufism. *Akhlāq* is taught from the very beginning of the educational process in all *pesantren*, whereas "Sufi texts are taught to the most advanced students" (Dhofier 1980b: 271, n.9). Sometimes *akhlāq* is considered sufficient for students. However, the *pesantren* find it very hard to distinguish the teachings of *akhlāq* from those of Sufism. This is shown by Van Bruinessen in his study.

The borderline between the subjects of *akhlāq* (morality) and *taṣawwuf* (mysticism) as

> taught in *pesantren* is extremely fuzzy. The same work may be studied under the heading *tasawwuf* in one *pesantren*, and under that of *akhlāq* in another. The subject of *akhlāq* also shades into *tarbiya* '(the imparting of) good manners'; the word has connotations of proper, respectful behaviour and unostentatious piety (1990a: 256).

What is clear is that *akhlāq* teachings form a basis for Sufi teachings. The Sufi teachings of al-Ghazālī leaves no shadow of doubt about the importance of *akhlāq*. The *pesantren* frequently consider that excellence of behaviour is much more important than the mastery of various fields of knowledge. Sound morality is a pre-condition of becoming a *kyai* or *pesantren* leader. The importance of morality within the *pesantren* tradition is described by Dhofier as follows:

> The success of *pesantren* leaders in producing numerous highly qualified Islamic scholars is due to the *kyai*'s method of learning. The intention is not to fill the minds of the students with information, but to refine their morals, educate their spirits, propagate virtue, teach them propriety, and prepare them for a life full of sincerity and purity. Each student is taught to regard religious ethics above all else (1980b: 265).

In sum, the Sufi texts used in the *pesantren* today are books which are standardised in the realm of Islamic orthodoxy and the standardisation process can be traced back to the connection between the *pesantren* and the centres of Islamic orthodoxy. Even though the pantheistic Sufi books have not totally vanished, the influence of al-Ghazālī's teachings has steadily grown. Al-Ghazālī's works are the Sufi texts, which are most often used in the *pesantren* either under the heading of Sufism or under that of morality. It seems that orthodox Sufism continues to be maintained and developed by the majority of *pesantren*, and is by no means confined to *tarekat*-oriented *pesantren*.

CHAPTER FOUR
PESANTREN TEBUIRENG AND SUFISM

Pesantren Tebuireng is located in the village of Cukir about 8 kilometres southeast of Jombang. This *pesantren* is known as a *pesantren sharī'ah* (Islamic law-oriented *pesantren*) which functions as a centre for Islamic knowledge in general and this indicates that it has never admitted students to study the teachings of any Sufi order. However, it is important to discuss the role of this *pesantren* in the maintenance of Sufism. In this chapter I shall provide a short biography of Kyai Hashim Ash'ari, the founder of Pesantren Tebuireng, describe developments and changes in the *pesantren*, examine some aspects of Sufism in the *pesantren*, and discuss the relationship between Pesantren Tebuireng and the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order, the most widespread Sufi order in Java.

A. Kyai Hashim Ash'ari: the Founder of Pesantren Tebuireng

One prominent Javanese *kyai* who played a tremendous role in the maintenance and spread of the *pesantren* tradition in Java was Kyai Hashim Ash'ari, known as Hadrah al-Shaykh ('the great *Shaykh*'), the founder of the most famous major *pesantren* in East Java, namely Pesantren Tebuireng. Kyai Hashim Ash'ari was born on the 14 February 1871 in Nggendang, Regency of Jombang East Java. His father, Kyai Ash'ari, came from Demak, Central Java, and was a *kyai* and the founder of Pesantren Keras. His grandfather – his mother's father – Kyai Usman, was the founder and leader of Pesantren Gedang and a leader of a Sufi order with more than a thousand followers in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Kyai Usman's father, Kyai Sihah, was the founder of Pesantren Tambak Beras. Among his ancestors was King Brawijaya IV (Atjeh 1957: 55-61).

Various hagiographic accounts of Kyai Hashim Ash'ari record that special signs at his birth and in his childhood indicated that Kyai Hashim Ash'ari would become a famous *kyai* and Muslim leader. Early in his life he was famous for his intelligence, diligence, and piety, which attracted the attention of many people. As Kyai Hashim Ash'ari entered his early childhood he was trained in his father's *pesantren* at Gedang until he was six years old when his parents moved to Keras and established a *pesantren* there. The first subjects he studied in *Pesantren* Keras were Islamic theology, Qur'ānic'

exegesis, Arabic and the like under the guidance of his father. His intelligence was so outstanding that Kyai Hashim Ash'ari began to teach at the age of thirteen (Atjeh 1957: 61-63; Dhofier 1982: 92).

Later, Kyai Hashim Ash'ari began his peregrination to various *pesantren* to learn various branches of Islamic knowledge. Dhofier describes this learning tradition as that of 'a knowledge-seeking wanderer' (1982: 24). The first *pesantren* that he visited was Pesantren Wonokojo in Probolinggo, East Java, then he moved to Pelangitan and Bangkalan. After he had spent two years studying in these *pesantren*, Kyai Hashim Ash'ari became a student in Pesantren Siwalan in Sidoarjo under the leadership of Kyai Ya'kub, where he remained for five years. Impressed by Kyai Hashim Ash'ari's excellent *akhlaq* and intellectual achievements, Kyai Ya'kub took him as a son-in-law. Then, Kyai Hashim Ash'ari, accompanied by his wife, Khadijah, and his father-in-law, went to Mecca to continue his Islamic studies. After they had been in Mecca for a year his wife and his child passed away. They went back to Java with his father-in-law, but three months later he returned to Mecca with his brother-in-law, Muhammad Alwi (Atjeh 1957: 65-70; Dhofier 1982: 93).

His second Mecca period lasted seven years. During this relatively long period Kyai Hashim Ash'ari and his brother-in-law studied under some famous Jawi teachers in Mecca such as Shaykh Nawawi Banten, Shaykh Mahfuz Tremas, and Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau. Among these *'ulamā'*, it was Shaykh Mahfuz Tremas who greatly influenced the intellectual life of Kyai Hashim Ash'ari, the acknowledged star pupil of this Ḥadīth scholar of great repute. Following in the footsteps of his influential teacher, Kyai Hashim Ash'ari also blossomed into a well-known Ḥadīth *'ulamā'* (Dhofier 1982: 93).

In any discussion of Islam in Indonesia in this period, it is important to remember that during the nineteenth century the reformist ideas of the Egyptian Muḥammad 'Abduh won a high reputation in the Middle East. The so-called modernist or reformist movement which gained momentum at this time was greatly influenced by Muḥammad 'Abduh's ideas. Although Muḥammad 'Abduh's influence was strongest in Egypt, his thoughts on religious matters also attracted some Indonesian students studying in Mecca. Even Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau, who like Shaykh Nawawi Banten and Shaikh Mahfuz Tremas achieved the highest-ranking position as a teacher at the Masjid al-Ḥarām in Mecca, was influenced by these reformist ideas. He agreed with Muḥammad 'Abduh where the latter put a strong case for abandoning the practices of Sufi orders. In this regard, Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau was the odd man out among the majority of Indonesian *'ulamā'* who had settled in Mecca such as Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas, Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim, Shaykh Nawawi Banten, and Shaykh Mahfuz Tremas. Having

reviewed the matter critically he rejected Muḥammad 'Abduh's ideas about rejecting traditional scholastic scholarship since he himself taught Shafi'ite Law at the Masjid al-Ḥarām (Dhofier 1982: 93-95). Noer writes:

> As Imam of the Sjafi'i *madzhab* it would be impossible to expect from Shech Ahmad Chatib the abandonment of this school of law. However, he did not prohibit his students from reading Abduh's writings (such as *Al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā* and his exegesis of the Qur'ān), although he did this with the intention of refuting the ideas of this Egyptian reformist. On the other hand, he was familiar with Sjāfi'ī's warning which urged the people in general to abandon his (Sjāfi'ī's) *fatwā* if these happened to be in contradiction with the Sunna of the Prophet (Noer 1973: 32-33).

Many students of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau who were interested in Muḥammad 'Abduh's reformist ideas attended the University of al-Azhar and other universities in Egypt. After returning to Indonesia, they attempted to spread Muḥammad 'Abduh's reformist ideas through education and publications, and most pertinently established modernist Muslim organisations like the Muhammadiyah. As a student of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau, Kyai Hashim Ash'ari was therefore familiar with and, to some extent, influenced by Muḥammad 'Abduh's reformist ideas. He supported Muḥammad 'Abduh's idea that Islamic teachings needed to be purified and that it was essential to develop an Islamic educational institution which would have the capacity to counter Western influence. However, he rejected Muḥammad 'Abduh's ideas about abandoning traditional scholastic scholarship (Woodward 1989: 136). Kyai Hashim Ash'ari argued that it was impossible to understand the meanings of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīths without consulting the interpretations of former scholars. In this respect, Kyai Hashim Ash'ari was following in the path trodden by his teacher, Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau. Unlike Muḥammad 'Abduh and Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau, he maintained the importance of Sufi practices. This reveals very plainly that Kyai Hashim Ash'ari was strongly influenced by the long-lasting tradition of Islam which was taught by Shaykh Nawawi Banten, Shaykh Mahfuz Tremas, and Kyai Khalil Bangkalan (Dhofier 1982: 94-95).

After spending seven years in Mecca, Kyai Hashim Ash'ari returned to Java in 1899. He taught briefly at Pesantren Gedang, which his grandfather Kyai Usman founded, before he founded his own *pesantren*, Pesantren Tebuireng. To establish his own, he took twenty-eight *santri* (students) from his grandfather's *pesantren* to Tebuireng. Dhofier states that this custom is common within the *pesantren* tradition and it is based on sound logic. First, it is an outward and visible sign of permission from the senior *kyai* to the young *kyai* to begin his own carier. An added bonus is that the young *kyai* can start his teaching-learning process with the assistance of his students (Dhofier

1982: 95). On 26 Rabi' al-Awwal 1318/1899 AD Kyai Hashim Ash'ari established Pesantren Tebuireng and from that moment he himself was known as Kyai Tebuireng (Atjeh 1957: 76).

Within ten years Pesantren Tebuireng had developed into one of the major *pesantren* of Java. Within this relatively short time, it had become a major supplier of teachers to other *pesantren*. Its most important contribution was that it produced *kyai* who were prepared to strike out on their own and found *pesantren*. Dhofier argues that this was because Kyai Hashim Ash'ari concentrated on the education and training of a relatively small number of advanced students with the idea that they could become founders and leaders of new *pesantren* firlmy in his sights. His efforts were to a large extent successful and his fame spread throughout Java. Many of the *pesantren* which Kyai Hashim Ash'ari's students established became relatively large Islamic institutions accommodating more than a thousand students. To mention just some examples, Pesantren Lasem in Rembang, Central Java, Pesantren Darul Ulum in Peterongan (Jombang), Pesantren Mamba'ul Ma'arif in Denanyar (Jombang), Pesantren Lirboyo in Kediri, and Pesantren Asembagus in Situbondo are major *pesantren* in Central and East Java which were established by the *kyai* of Tebuireng graduates (Dhofier 1982: 95-96).

Kyai Hashim Ash'ari continued to lead Pesantren Tebuireng until he passed away on 25 July 1947. His position and his role was far more than just being a leader of the *pesantren*, he was a very prominent figure in the Muslim community who made a great contribution to the propagation of traditional Islam in Indonesia. Kyai Hashim Ash'ari was highly critical of the modernist groups which had grown more influential and more widespread since the 1920s. One of his undertakings to promote the spread of and maintain the Islamic tradition in Indonesia was that he, with K.H. Wahab Hasbullah, established a traditionalist Muslim organisation known as Nahdlatul Ulama on 31 January 1926. For a number of years he was its head. His major influence on the Javanese of Central and East Java is also indicated by the fact that he and his son, K.H. Wahid Hashim, were appointed by both modernist and traditionalist *'ulamā'* as the heads of the *Majlis Islam A'la Indonesia* (the Supreme Council of Muslims of Indonesia) for the 1945-1949 period. In 1944 Kyai Hashim Ash'ari was also appointed by the Japanese occupation forces to be the head of the Office of Religious Affairs in Java and Madura. For his great services to the Indonesian people and the state during the struggle against the Dutch, Kyai Hashim Ash'ari was declared a national hero by the Indonesian government (Atjeh 1957: 107-119; Dhofier 1982: 96-99). As a charismatic *'ulamā'* Kyai Hashim Ash'ari was famous for his intellectual achievement and leadership capabilities but he also won enormous respect for his spiritual qualities.

B. Development of Education in Pesantren Tebuireng

Since the early days of its establishment, Pesantren Tebuireng has focused attention on the fields of education and the propagation of Islam in Indonesia. To realise these ambitions, Kyai Hashim Ash'ari invited several important *'ulamā'* and teachers to become involved not only in the organisation of educational and religious activities in the *pesantren* but also in efforts to achieve the modernisation of the *pesantren* system of education. Dhofier notes that these *kyai* and teachers played a significant role in the development of Pesantren Tebuireng. Among them were Kyai Muhammad Alwi, Kyai Ma'sum, Kyai Ilyas, and Kyai Wahid Hashim, all of whom were in fact Kyai Hashim Ash'ari's relatives. Dhofier also points out that, prior to 1916, the *pesantren* used to practice the individual system of learning known as *sorogan* supplemented by the collective system of learning called *bandongan* in its instruction. Besides these two traditional methods, the *pesantren* provided a discussion method for advanced students. Ever conscient of the purpose of producing *'ulamā'*, this last method was constantly used by Kyai Hashim Ash'ari right to the time of his death. These systems of learning were non-classical (1982: 103-104).

Keeping pace with the modernisation process in Pesantren Tebuireng in the early twentieth century were the efforts to reform the educational system. In 1916, Kyai Ma'sum, a son-in-law of Kyai Hashim Ash'ari introduced the classical system which is usually referred to as the *madrasah* (Islamic school). This was followed by the teaching of some general (secular) subjects such as the Malay language, mathematics, geography, Dutch, and history. In 1926 a nephew of Kyai Hashim Ash'ari, Kyai Ilyas who graduated from H.I.S (*Hollandsch Inlandsche School*) of Surabaya (1918-1926), arrived at Pesantren Tebuireng and took up duties as teacher of secular subjects there. In 1929 he was appointed director of the *madrasah*, replacing Kyai Ma'sum who had been chosen to head Pesantren Seblak. In 1931, with Kyai Wahid Hashim, Kyai Ilyas went to Mecca on the pilgrimage and to further his study of Islamic teachings (Atjeh 1957: 83-86; Dhofier 1982: 104). These two *kyai* greatly contributed to the modernisation of the educational system of Pesantren Tebuireng in the years which followed. This provides incontrovertible evidence that it is misleading to conclude that traditional Islamic institutions, like Pesantren Tebuireng, totally rejected the modernisation process. It would be more appropriate to say that attemps were made to choose some aspects of modernity that were thought to be acceptable.

The changes in Tebuireng continued. After the death of Kyai Hashim Ash'ari the leadership of Pesantren Tebuireng was assumed by Kyai Wahid Hashim who made great efforts to modernise Islamic education in the

pesantren. Even before he had succeeded his father, Kyai Wahid Hashim had been involved in the establishment of Madrasah Nizomiyah in which the curriculum was mainly composed of secular subjects. He also built a library in which not only *kitab kuning* (religious books in Arabic script) but also magazines and journals were available. Even though he steeped in political activities, eventually being appointed Minister of Religious Affairs (1949-1952), Kyai Wahid Hashim always paid great attention to educational developments, not only restricting his interest to his *pesantren*, but keeping an eye on those throughout Indonesia. One of his important legacies is the existence of the subject of Islamic religion in schools from primary school to university (Dhofier 1982: 104-107).

The discussion method for advanced students, which was organised by Kyai Hashim Ash'ari, disappeared after his death. Kyai Idris did actually try to maintain this learning tradition before he left for Arabia in 1973, but after his departure the system of learning on which Kyai Hashim Ash'ari had concentrated in the *pesantren* since the early years of its establishment ended. This meant that Tebuireng could no longer continue its main function as an advanced institution for producing *kyai* as it used to (Dhofier 1982: 108-109). Dhofier suggests:

> In the past, the educational purpose of Tebuireng was to train *'ulamā'*. In present day Indonesia, the educational purposes of Tebuireng has been reformulated, i.e., to train students who can later develop themselves to become *'ulamā' intelektual* (*'ulamā'* who master secular knowledge) and *intelektual 'ulamā'* (scholars of modern knowledge who also master Islamic knowledge) (1980a: 81).

The leadership of Pesantren Tebuireng changed as well. After the death of Kyai Wahid Hashim in 1953, Tebuireng was headed by his brother, Kyai Khaliq Hashim until 1965. Since then the *pesantren* has been directed by another son of Kyai Hashim Ash'ari, Yusuf Hashim. Unlike his father and his two brothers, Kyai Wahid Hashim and Kyai Khaliq Hashim, the present leader has been intricately involved in political activities from an early age. As a politician who was trained in the army tradition, Yusuf Hashim is not known as an Islamic scholar and leader. He seems to get more skilled in the field of social or political organisation. Nonetheless it should be noted that under his leadership Pesantren Tebuireng has developed and progressed considerably. Within two years of assuming the leadership Yusuf Hashim had established an Islamic university known as the Hashim Ash'ari University which does not separate female from the male students. This innovation breaks a long tradition of the *pesantren*. In 1971 he founded a school for *huffāẓ* ('memorisers') of the Qur'ān. Similarly, in 1975 he opened two secular schools, namely *Sekolah Menengah Pertama* (Junior High School) and *Sekolah Menengah Atas* (Senior

High School) (Dhofier 1982: 109-111). The founding of these secular schools was carried out in accordance with the new formulation of the educational purpose of Pesantren Tebuireng. These new developments, which has attracted students from various regions in Indonesia, have shown the way for a new function of *pesantren* in general education, in addition to its conventional function in Islamic education.

All in all, by 1978 Pesantren Tebuireng was conducting ten types of educational activities which included both Islamic education and general education. These were, *bandongan* (collective system of learning), *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* (Islamic Primary School), *Sekolah Persiapan Tsanawiyah* (Matriculation for Islamic Junior High School), *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* (Islamic Junior High School), *Madrasah Aliyah* (Islamic Senor High School), *Sekolah Menengah Pertama* (Junior High School), *Sekolah Menengah Atas* (Senior High School), *Madrasah al-Huffāẓ* (School for Memorisers of the Qur'ān), and *Jam'iyyah* (Training Centre for Organisational Activities) and the University of Hashim Ash'ari (Dhofier 1982: 113-122).

C. Aspects of Sufism in Pesantren Tebuireng

Kyai Hashim Ash'ari was a Sufi although he was not affiliated to a particular Sufi order and even though he never accepted students to study Sufism with him. Hagiographic accounts of his life are filled with various stories which indicate his Sufi way of life. Haji Abubakar Atjeh writes about Kyai Hashim Ash'ari recalling the time when this prominent *kyai* stayed in Saudi Arabia.

> During his stay in Mecca he never wasted his time one useless matters. All efficacious places were visited such places as the grave of the Prophet Abraham, Hajar Aswad next to the Ka'bah, and Mount Rahmah in the Arafah dessert. In these places he prayed in order that his aspirations were realised. His eyes were filled with tears in front of the grave of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina. On Saturdays he also once stayed all day in Jabal Nur in the Hiro cave where the Prophet Muhammad meditated and received the first revelation (Atjeh 1957: 71-72).

K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri (1974) describes how the whole life of this famous *kyai* was characterised by the Sufi teachings that he learned from his influential teachers. The Sufi tradition adopted by Kyai Hashim Ash'ari included *zuhud* (*al-zuhd* 'asceticism'), *wara'* (abstinence), *tawaddu'* (modesty), *sabar* (*al-ṣabr* 'patience'), *ikhlās* (sincerity), and *tawakkal* (*al-tawakkul* 'absolute submission to God'), all of which are essential aspects of al-Ghazālī's important Sufi teachings. In this regard, Haji Abubakar Atjeh writes:

> ... his Sufi personality prevented him [Kyai Hashim Ash'ari] from doing things contrary to *riyā'* [worship for the sake of human beings] and *takabur* [arrogance] and other disgraceful characteristics from the perspective of Sufism. Such characteristics led him to perform rituals secretly so that not many people knew his worshipping except those who were close to him ... (1957: 107).

Dhofier points out that the Sufi way of life was maintained in Pesantren Tebuireng, and that *zuhud* (asceticism), *wirā'ī* or *wara'* (abstinence), *khushū'* (concentration), *ikhlās* (sincerity), *tawaḍḍu'* (modesty), *sabar* (patience), and *tawakkal* (absolute submission to God) were some of the important Sufi teachings honoured in the *pesantren* (Dhofier 1982: 165). All these teachings are interrelated and may be incorporated in the *zuhud* (asceticism) worldview, as this is recognised as the earliest form of Sufism in the history of Islam. *Zuhud* as an Islamic ethic is frequently reiterated in the majority of *kitab kuning* used within the *pesantren* tradition (Mas'udi 1985: 69). Dhofier says that "almost the whole text of *al-Hikam* ... is devoted to the discussion of this world view" (1980b: 271, n.8) even though its content is not as complete as al-Ghazali's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*.

In Pesantren Tebuireng, *zuhud* does not necessarily mean an aversion to life in the world. Instead it extols a lack of love for worldly life (Dhofier 1980b: 269). The case of wealth serves as a very clear example to illustrate *zuhud*. Kyai Shamsuri, a famous *kyai* of the *pesantren*, explained:

> If you have wealth, you must not love your wealth and neglect the *zuhud* world view in which wealth is only an *amanat* (trust) from Allah that you must spend your wealth for the sake of your life in the hereafter. You must not spend your wealth excessively (*berlebih-berlebihan*) and for your own entertainment (*hanya untuk kesenanganmu sendiri*) if your neighbours are too poor to buy meat, chickens, beautiful clothes, etc., do not spend your wealth on these things; do not neglect to spend your wealth for religious purposes; pay your alms for the poor and the orphans and contribute your *amal jariah*, i.e. for building mosques, *madrasah*, etc. (Dhofier 198b: 269).

This quotation quite clearly argues that wealth is not the aim of life, but only a means to take care of the biological and social needs in this life. The essential aim of life is to obtain pleasure in God which can be achieved by means of wealth (Mas'udi 1985: 70).

Closely related to this is a Ḥadīth well known in Sufism, as quoted by K.H. Shamsuri Badawi, namely, *"al-dunyā sijn al-Muslimīn wa jannah al-Kāfirīn"*, which means that "the world is a prison for Muslims and a heaven for non-believers" (1985: 40). K.H. Shamsuri Badawi elaborates this Tradition of the Prophet as follows.

> The purpose of this Ḥadīth is not that a Muslim may not be wealthy and have a good

> life or that wealth and pleasure can be identified with unbelief. This is not true. It is also true that life in the world is not hell for Muslims, especially the wealthy, while the world is heaven for non-believers even if they are poor. What is true is that rich and poor Muslims must have a strong desire for God (1985: 40).

Mas'udi claims that in almost all *kitab kuning* used in the *pesantren* the importance of wealth is never denied. A person is obliged to work in order to fulfil his or her needs. A person is forbidden either to fall into poverty or to exceed the limit of those needs (Mas'udi 1985: 69). K.H. Shamsuri Badawi distinguishes four types of Muslim attitudes towards wealth. The first and the highest is the *al-zāhid* (ascetic), that is, a person who does not repine his lack of material means but finds himself burdened with what he sees as a heavy trusteeship. Then, the *al-rādī* is a person who is never sad no matter whether he is wealthy or not. The third is the *al-qāni'*, that is a person who is not sad if he does not become wealthy and is happy if he receives it. The last is the *al-harīṣ*, that is a person who bemoans and complains about his lack of riches but is very happy if wealth falls to his lot even though it is forbidden wealth (1985: 41).

Dhofier observes that *zuhud* must be completed by some important rituals which include:

> An intensive practice of non-obligatory rituals such as *salat sunnat* (recommended prayers), *puasa sunnat* (recommended fasting) and *dzikir* (recollection of Allah's names associated with *salat* as an extra, personal practice (Dhofier 1980b: 269).

Viewed within the Sufi tradition this is entirely comprehensible because the obligatory rituals enshrined in the Five Pillars of Islam are considered to be no more than the minimal standard of Islam, and should be complemented by a variety of recommended rituals that are largely based on Islamic doctrines, the Qur'ān and the Traditions of the Prophet. K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri observed of religious life in Pesantren Tebuireng:

> Outside the time of congregational prayers the mosque was never free of people who performed *sunnah* prayers, prayers for the excellence of worship. Others chanted *wiridan*, that is, a set of Divine words at certain times and in a certain number, according to *ijazah* [licence] given by their teachers. *Wiridan* is also a kind of remembrance of God to plead for His forgiveness, mercy and blessing (1974: 96).

Dhofier has described the daily activities of the *santri* of Pesantren Tebuireng. He notes that prayers, *dhikir* (remembrance of God) and *istighāthah* (a *dhikir* that mentions some of the Ninety-Nine Attributes of God) are practised after the five daily obligatory prayers. Dhofier also recorded a type of *dhikir* that the students of Pesantren Tebuireng had embraced. He took great pains to

stress that this *dhikir* is commonly practised by followers of Sufi orders.

> Praise belongs to God, the Lord of All Being,
> Forgive me God, You who are Magnificent, Who is no
> God but the Alive and the Self-Subsisting and I ask
> forgiveness from You (three times).
>
> There is no God but Allah, the Unique who has no
> Partner or Equal, Who governs the Law, and Praise only
> belongs to Him, the Lord of all Being.
>
> Bring me, O God, Peace, and only from Your Peace, and
> Peace is returned to You, and give me life full of Peace,
> And take me to the Heaven, your house of Peace, You
> bless me, O God, the Lord of Majesty and Bounty.
>
> Praise belongs to Allah, the Lord of All Being (thirty-three times)
> Allah the Great (thirty-three times)
> Forgive me God, You who are magnificent (thirty-three times)
> There is no God but Allah (one hundred times) (1980a: 183).

Ziarah or visiting the graves of saints and those of *kyai* is another important ritual observed in Pesantren Tebuireng. During his life, Kyai Hashim Ash'ari practised *ziarah*. This type of ritual often confuses many scholars leading some of them to misinterpret it as worship of the dead. Geertz, for instance, considered it "ancestor worship" and erroneously classified it as a type of *'abangan'* (syncretic Javanese Muslim) ritual. Geertz writes:

> Javanese "ancestor worship"... amounts to little more than a pious expression of respect for the dead plus a lively awareness of the necessity of being on good terms with one's own deceased father and mother and of being sure to feed them some rice or flowers when they appear in one's dreams (1960: 76).

This is a misleading view because the visiting of graves has a definite doctrinal basis in the Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad. Imam Nawawī lists four *Hadīth* that recommend the visiting of graves. The Prophet said: "Those who want to visit graves are recommended to do so because it reminds you of the Hereafter" (Bahreisj 1983: 484). In three other Ḥadīth the Prophet teaches conduct which is meet and proper in graves such as the prayer pronounced on such a visit. This is a prayer (*du'ā'*) which is very well known within the *pesantren* tradition:

> Praise be upon you, the population of Mu'min [believers] and Muslims. We, God's willing, will follow you. I pray salvation for us and for you (Bahreisj 1983: 485).

Geertz' description is only appropriate if it is seen from the modernist/ reformist point of view. Having said this, it is incontrovertible that the practice of *ziarah* among the Javanese has been 'Javanised'. As Fox observes that "pious practice has been combined with various traditional ideas and extended, in some cases, beyond the realm of orthodoxy" (1991: 19).

In the *pesantren* tradition *ziarah* is often associated with *karāmah* or *keramat*, which is the Arabic word for 'holiness'. *Karāmah* is one of four miraculous grants within Islam in general. "It means the exhibition by Allah of His generosity, favour, or grace" (Al-Attas 1963: 48). This is a complex concept composed of many aspects. First, *mu'jizat* is an extraordinary attribute granted by God to all prophets as a proof of the authenticity of their message or prophethood. *Istidrāj* is that given to non-believers for the purpose of coaxing them. Finally, *ma'ūnah* is that bestowed on ordinary Muslims through God's Goodness (Mastuhu 1990: 89). Madjid argues that the Prophet Muhammad possessed *mu'jizat*, *barakah* (blessing), and *shafā'ah* ('helpfulness'). Some 'special' people can inherit these miraculous powers from the Prophet. *Karāmah* belongs to *wali* (friends of God) who are known for the quality of their asceticism, god-wariness, and holiness. As the *wali* are placed in a position right below that occupied by prophets, the position of *karāmah* is also directly below *mu'jizat*. In short, *karāmah* is a type of spiritual or supernatural power granted by God to His *wali* or friends of God because of their extreme devotion to God (Madjid 1988: 110).

The *kyai* are often regarded as persons possessing the quality of *wali*, particularly by their own *santri* (students) and community. "Amost all *kyai* and great *'ulamā'* are believed to be *wali* who possess *karāmah* (Prasodjo et al. 1974: 41). Aware of this juxtaposition, Dhofier tries to relate *karāmah* to the charismatic leadership of the *kyai*.

> Most *kyai* also foster the public image that some *kyai* are extraordinary persons possessing the spiritual attributes of *karāmah* (a man who is greatly loved by Allah) and so become sources of *barakah* (Allah's blessing) for their followers. Having *karāmah* and being a source of *barakah* allow *kyai* to develop charismatic leadership. *Karāmah*, *barakah* and *'ilm* (Islamic knowledge) are essential elements for *pesantren* leadership. Almost all well-known *kyai* who have been able to develop big *pesantren* are classified as *kyai* with extraordinary *karāmah* and *barakah* (1980c: 53).

Kyai Hashim Ash'ari expatiated on the meaning of *wali* by stating it consisted of two aspects. First, a *wali* is a person who is protected by God from committing either a mortal or a venal sin. He or she is withheld from succumbing to his/her *nafsu* (passion) and from indifference to repentance (*taubat*), should he or she commit a sin. In this sense a *wali* is *mahfūz*, which means that he or she may commit a minor trespass but he or she immediately

repents. Second, a *wali* is a person who continually worships God and devotes him/herself to God. Therefore, in the eyes of Kyai Hashim Ash'ari, a person is not a *wali* should he or she do or say anything which runs counter to the Qur'ān and the Traditions of the Prophet (1972: 2-11).

Those *wali* who are regarded as the possessors of *karāmah* can give *barakah* not only during their life but also after they are dead (Madjid 1988: 110). This forms a logical foundation for the practice of *ziarah* to the tomb of *wali* and *ziarah* is therefore an important ritual in the *pesantren* tradition. The practice of *ziarah* to the graves of *wali* and of *kyai* can also be seen as an elaboration of the concept of *wasīlah*. In this regard, there is a chain that links a person to a *kyai* or *wali*, either alive or dead, and finally to the Prophet Muhammad. The Prophet is the closest person to God (Van Bruinessen 1992b: 75).

Ziarah to the graves of *wali* is performed in certain ways and at certain times. It may be conducted individually or collectively. In the *pesantren* tradition, Friday, as a holy day, is the most common time for *ziarah*. Besides this, in some *pesantren kyai, santri*, or the community conduct communal *ziarah* during the *kyai's haul* (anniversary of *kyai*'s death) (Steenbrink 1986: 113). The majority of *pesantren* in Java have a *haul* ceremony, and *ziarah* to the grave of the founder of the *pesantren* or of *wali* is a part of the annual programmes of the *pesantren* (Van Bruinessen 1992b: 75). Steenbrink also observes that:

> During *Mauludan* [the Prophet's birthday] ceremony many alumni of *pesantren* visit their *kyai* even though they are dead. This *ziarah* is also performed at the end of the month of Ramadan. The graves are often visited during the whole year, particularly in case of special needs such as illness, difficulties before marriage and so on (1986: 113).

The grave of Kyai Hashim Ash'ari in Tebuireng is often visited by *kyai, santri*, and community members because he was a great *kyai* who was renowned for his piety and asceticism, and consequently he is regarded as a source of blessing.

To sum up, *dhikir, ziarah* and other rituals clearly show some aspects of the Sufi tradition as practised in Tebuireng. Combined with a so-called *zuhud* world view which consists of several excellent teachings, the practice of observing non-obligatory rituals, which is based on the doctrines of the Qur'ān and the Traditions of the Prophet, indicate that Pesantren Tebuireng maintains the Sufi tradition even though it retains its characteristics as a *sharī'ah pesantren* like the majority of *pesantren* in Java. Throughout its history with its function as a *sharī'ah pesantren*, Pesantren Tebuireng has had a close connection with the development of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah*

Order in East Java.

D. Pesantren Tebuireng and the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order

In his treatise entitled *Taburan Permata yang Indah* ('Strewing Beautiful Jewels') Kyai Hashim Ash'ari describes eight difficult conditions which must be met by anybody wishing to join a Sufi order (*tarekat*). *First*, a person must have embraced the true purpose, namely, being a servant of God. *Second*, a person must trust his teacher accepting the latter as one who possesses a special method which may enable his students to approach God. *Third*, a person must have *akhlāq* which is regulated by the *sharī'ah*. *Fourth*, a person's conduct must be in accordance with the teachings of the Prophet. *Fifth*, a person must pay respect to his teachers. *Sixth*, a person must serve his teachers and fellow Muslims faithfully. *Seventh*, a person must praise his purpose, that is, to know God. *Eighth*, a person must perpetuate his purpose (Ash'ari 1975: 18-20). In the same treatise, Kyai Hashim Ash'ari also sets out regulations for the conditions for a teacher of Sufi orders, namely his capacity to understand the Qur'ān and the Traditions of the Prophet, as well as the *sharī'ah* and other branches of Islamic knowledge, his piety and devotion to God plus some other difficult conditions (1975: 22-24). Kyai Hashim Ash'ari goes on to suggest that a person who seeks a teacher of a Sufi order is obliged to acknowledge whether or not the teacher has thorough knowledge of the attributes of God, has true faith, understands Islamic law, and obeys all rules of God (1975: 24-25).

The fact that he felt obliged to set down these difficult requirements gives the impression that Kyai Hashim Ash'ari did not practise the teachings of one particular Sufi order. In fact, according to his grandson, K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid (the fourth president of Republic of Indonesia), Kyai Hashim Ash'ari practised various *dhikir* from several Sufi orders individually. He reports that his grandfather practised some rituals of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order and the *dhikir* of the *Tijāniyyah* Order and of some others (Abdussalam 1993: 45). Without mentioning a specific Sufi order, K.H. Shamsuri Badawi explains:

> Personally he [Kyai Hashim Ash'ari] joined a Sufi order, but he did not perform it publicly and did not receive students. It is true that very few people knew that he practised *wirid bersanad* [*wirid* which has links to the Prophet] like a follower of a Sufi order (1985: 40).

In his discussion of the matter, K.H. Shamsuri Badawi explains two reasons for Kyai Hashim Ash'ari for doing so. First, Kyai Hashim Ash'ari considered

that the pursuance of the activities of Sufi orders would disturb learning and teaching activities in the *pesantren* because the *pesantren* would be obliged to hold various ceremonies and he himself would receive guests and accept invitations. Another reason is that he avoided falling into any materialistic tendency or *hubb al-dunyā* (love of the life in this world rather than in the Hereafter) (1985: 40).

Another impression created by Kyai Hashim Ash'ari's difficult regulations for students and teachers of Sufi order is that he only trained students to be scholars of the *sharī'ah* and was hostile to Sufi orders, but this is misleading. It is true that he strongly forbade his students to join any Sufi order before they had mastered the *sharī'ah*. To illustrate my point, he did not give Kyai Adlan 'Ali and Kyai Mansur Anwar permission to join the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order when both were still young (Dhofier 1980b: 281). In this context it is significant to note that an important centre of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in East Java is Pesantren Darul Ulum of Rejoso in Jombang and its development was closely related to the role of Pesantren Tebuireng.

During his life Kyai Hashim Ash'ari was emphatic in his warning against false and degenerate leaders of Sufi orders. In his *al-Nahy 'an Muqṭa'ah al-Arḥām* (Prohibition on Breaking the Relationship with Friends), Kyai Hashim Ash'ari illustrates his experience with Kyai Khalil, a leader of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in Pesantren Rejoso.

> There was a learned *'ulamā'* who had frequently made the pilgrimage to Mecca. After some years of study with a learned *shaikh* in Mecca, he was permitted to establish a branch of the *Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah* in Jombang. After some years' preaching, he became famous and attracted thousands of students. However, he then changed. He rarely went to the mosque to lead Friday and communal daily prayers. He also became easily displeased and resentful. He did not go out much to meet people. All these things were done to impress upon people that he was a *wali* (saint). However, when a *bupati* (regent) came to see him to ask his 'blessing', this *'ulamā'* enthusiastically gave the bupati certain formulae of *dhikir* "to preserve his position as *bupati*". In return, the *bupati* presented him with valuable gifts.
>
> When people reported all this information to me, I came to see this *'ulamā'*. At first, his wife met me at the door telling me that her husband did not want to see me. I told her that I was Hashim Ash'ari and would like to give her husband some advice. She let me in and I met her husband. I told him that he had deviated from the true teachings of the *tarekat*. "My dear friend, you are supposed to be humble and kind, especially to ordinary people. You are also supposed to keep away from government officials to avoid suspicion from the people. Now you have done all these and I believe that you have been cheated by Satan".
>
> A month later, this *'ulamā'* came to see me and thanked me for my advice. He had realised his mistakes and wished sincerely to follow the teachings of the Tarekat

(Dhofier 1980a: 280-281).

This long quotation indicates the critical role played by Pesantren Tebuireng in the maintenance of Sufism in Java. As a *pesantren* of the *sharī'ah*, Tebuireng attempted to control the practices of Sufism which were seen to have deviated from Islamic orthodoxy. Pesantren Tebuireng also played an indirect role in the spread and development of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in East Java, even though it never permitted anyone to teach any Sufi orders in the *pesantren*. Kyai Khalil, a teacher and leader of this Sufi order, was under the close control of Kyai Hashim Ash'ari in his practices. Similarly, when Kyai Ramli, a successor to Kyai Khalil, led the Sufi order, Kyai Hashim Ash'ari exerted authority over him by restricting the number of Sufi texts Kyai Ramli used to teach to his students (1980a: 284-285).

The success of Kyai Ramli in attracting thousands of followers to the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order cannot be attributed solely to his organisational skills. It owed an equal debt to Kyai Hashim Ash'ari's support expressed through his permission to his students to become vice-regents of Kyai Ramli. Such influential vice-regents as Kyai Adlan 'Ali succeeded in recruiting and organising mass followers in the East Java region. In other words, the significant development of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in East Java relied heavily on contributions made by Pesantren Tebuireng. During his period of leadership from 1930 to 1958, Kyai Ramli appointed four first-rank *badal murshid* ('assistant teachers'), namely Kyai Adlan 'Ali (*kyai* of Pesantren Tebuireng), Kyai Mansur Anwar (the leader of Pesantren Paculgowang), Kyai Muhdar (a teacher of Pesantren Rejoso), and Kyai Makky, who had all been students of Kyai Hashim Ash'ari. Furthermore, sixty-four of his eighty second-rank and third-rank *badal murshid* were graduates of Pesantren Tebuireng (Dhofier 1980a: 285-288). In other words, the majority of vice-regents of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in East Java were graduates of Pesantren Tebuireng. The role of these graduates in the propagation of the Sufi order shows the indirect contribution to Sufi orders of Pesantren Tebuireng.

Kyai Ramli's son, Kyai Musta'in Ramli, succeeded his father to the leadership of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in East Java. Under his leadership the order increased markedly in numbers which allowed him to establish fifteen regional divisions, each led by a *badal* (assistant) with about fifteen thousand members. His prestige, then, reached the national level because of his position as the head of *Jam'iyyah Ahli Thariqah Mu'tabarah* – Federation of the Genuine Sufi orders – under the Nahdlatul Ulama of Central and East Java. The federation was founded on 10 October 1957

(Madjid 1977: 61-62). It is reported that since its foundation the influence of Pesantren Rejoso as a centre of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order has been dominant because Kyai Musta'in Ramli was the most charismatic among *shaykh* in East Java (Van Bruinesssen 1992a: 172).

Fame also accrued from the fact that Kyai Musta'in Ramli then established a relationship with Golongan Karya (Golkar), the dominant political faction in the New Order Indonesia, and as a result received ten hectares of land in Jombang as well as money with which he built the University of Darul Ulum. In the 1977 general elections, Kyai Musta'in Ramli supported and campaigned for Golkar (Dhofier 1980a: 285-286). This certainly raised a major problem because the majority of the Sufi order members were affiliated with the Nahdlatul Ulama which at the time was associated with the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Development United Party). Since the majority of *khalīfah* (vice-regents) of the Sufi order were graduates of Pesantren Tebuireng and the *pesantren* was the main headquarters of Nahdlatul Ulama, Kyai Musta'in Ramli lost his influence over his followers and had to forgo the support of the majority of Kyai in East Java. Dhofier observes:

> The Kyais' reaction to Kyai Musta'in Romly was straightforward. He was regarded as abusing his position as the General Chairman of the Jam'iyyah and as an influential leader of the Tarekat for personal benefit (1980a: 286).

It was Kyai Adlan 'Ali, an influential vice-regent of Kyai Musta'in Ramli, whom the majority of *kyai* in East Java encouraged to take over Kyai Musta'in Ramli's leadership of the Sufi order (Dhofier 1980a: 287). The influence of Kyai Adlan 'Ali then increased significantly. Kyai Adlan 'Ali, who joined the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in the 1940s, began his studied of the Sufi order under the guidance of Shaykh Muslih ibn Abdurrahman of Mranggen, a prominent *shaykh* of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in Central Java, who then gave Kyai Adlan 'Ali a licence to give instruction in the Sufi order (Dhofier 1978: 12). His position as a *murshid* (teacher) was therefore similar to that of Kyai Musta'in Ramli. Dhofier describes how, when Kyai Adlan 'Ali served as a *khalīfah* (vice-regent) of Kyai Musta'in Ramli he had only 52 followers. The number increased sharply to about 1,500 in November 1977 when many *khalīfah* of Kyai Musta'in Ramli swore a vow of allegiance to him (1980a: 289).

On the basis of the fact that Kyai Adlan 'Ali could attract not only the *khalīfah* of but also many followers of Kyai Musta'in Ramli, Dhofier describes Pesantren Tebuireng as a new centre of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in East Java. He asserts that the establishment of the Sufi order in Tebuireng took place during the meeting of the general assembly

on 16 January 1978 (1980a: 290). Van Bruinessen, however, does not entirely agree with Dhofier. He writes:

> Pesantren Teburcing always takes an ambivalent attitude towards Sufi orders; to teach Sufi orders is never permitted in Pesantren Tebuireng, but personally the *santri* are allowed to learn them in other *pesantren* provided the *murshid* is of the opinion that the *santri* are mature enough for it (1992a: 172).

This means that formally Pesantren Tebuireng maintains its tradition of non-affiliation with any Sufi order. Since its foundation, the *pesantren* has concentrated more on developments in the field of education and training. In practice, many of its graduates become followers and vice-regents of a Sufi order. But this does not mean that Pesantren Tebuireng can be regarded as a *pesantren tarekat* (*pesantren* which specialises in teaching and spreading a Sufi order) like Pesantren Suryalaya of Tasikmalaya. Dhofier (1978) notes that the weekly gathering held by Kyai Adlan 'Ali was performed at a mosque outside the Pesantren Tebuireng complex, not in the complex itself. This suffices to underline the fact that *ethical* or '*sober*' Sufism is more dominant than Sufi *orders* in Pesantren Tebuireng. Given this, Tebuireng can be classified as a *pesantren* which plays an indirect role in the maintenance of Sufi orders in Java.

CHAPTER FIVE
PESANTREN TAREKAT OF SURYALAYA

The *pesantren* complex of Suryalaya is located in an isolated *kampung* (sub-village) called Godebag, of the village of Tanjungkerta, Kecamatan (sub-district) Pageregeung, in the Regency of Tasikmalaya in West Java. The location is about 90 kilometres from the provincial capital of Bandung and 35 kilometres to the north of Tasikmalaya (Galba 1991: 14-15). Lying about 9.5 kilometres from the main Bandung-Tasikmalaya road, it is situated in a beautiful valley, located between two mountains, Mount Cakrabuana and Mount Sawal. Behind the complex flows the River Citanduy which separates the regencies of Tasikmalaya and Ciamis. As an area at an altitude of about 700 metres above sea level, its climate is cool and its soil is very fertile (Soebardi 1978: 218).

Since its founding almost ninety years ago, Pesantren Suryalaya has been well-known as a centre of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in West Java. Even today, it is one of the famous *pesantren* which maintains its primary function as a centre of a Sufi order, its reputation well entrenched not only in West Java but in the entire island of Java. In fact the prestige of Suryalaya surpasses the national level and is acknowledged throughout Southeast Asia. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to label Suryalaya a *pesantren tarekat* (*pesantren* of a Sufi order). In this chapter I shall provide a short biography of the founder of the *pesantren* and then cover the development of the *pesantren* during his period, consider the spiritual power of Abah Anom, and discuss the teachings and rituals of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order of Suryalaya, its *pondok remaja inabah* (centre for treatment of addicts and delinquent youths), and the education it offers. Where it is required and possible, a comparison with Pesantren Tebuireng is provided.

A. Abah Sepuh: The Founder of Pesantren Tarekat of Suryalaya

Suryalaya – a name which is comprised of two words: *surya* meaning Sun and *laya* meaning 'place' so that Suryalaya roughly means 'place of sunrise' – was founded by Shaykh Abdullah Mubarak ibn Nur Muhammad on 7 Rajab 1323 A.H. or 5 September 1905 (Dasuki 1990: 28-29). Shaykh Abdullah Mubarak, who was known as Abah Sepuh, the old *kyai*, was born in 1836 in Kampung Cicalung, another sub-village within the village of Tanjungkerta. Pesantren Suryalaya differs from the majority of the major *pesantren* in Java with regard to the principle of heredity in the establishment of the *pesantren*. Dhofier has

shown that almost all major *pesantren* were built by hereditary *kyai*. Thirty *kyai* who were the founders or leaders of major *pesantren* in Java were the offspring of the same ancestor, namely Kyai Sihah, the founder of Pesantren Tambak Beras, East Java, in 1831 (1982: 63-65). Another anthropologist, Hiroko Horikoshi, observes that the *kyai* of a number of *pesantren* in Cipari, West Java, were the descendants of Zainal Abidin who founded the village (1976: 186-191). Unlike Kyai Hashim Ash'ari, Shaykh Abdullah Mubarak was not a descendant of a *kyai* family, but a descendant of a *priyayi* or aristocratic family. His father was Raden Nur Muhammad, also known as Nurapraja or Eyang Upas, and his mother was Emah. Raden Nur Muhammad enjoyed a high status in his community because he worked as a security official at the sub-district level and because he was a rich man who owned a considerable area of land (Sanusi 1990: 93-94). For these reasons and posessing the title *Raden*, this family was considered to belong to the *priyayi*.

Abah Sepuh received his first basic Islamic knowledge from his parents. He learned the recitation of the Qur'ān, prayers and very basic *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) and *tauḥīd* (Islamic theology) at home (Sanusi 1990: 94). He was then sent by his parents to a *pesantren* in Sukamiskin, near Bandung, where he studied *fiqh*, *tauḥīd* and *ilmu alat* (Arabic grammar). Like Kyai Hashim Ash'ari, he continued his education at a *pesantren* in Bangkalan, on the island of Madura, East Java under the leadership of Kyai Khalil. Then, Abah Sepuh attended Pesantren Kalisapu, near Cirebon, on the northeast coast of West Java. The *pesantren* was run by a famous *'ulamā'* and *shaykh* of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order named Shaykh Talhah. Shaykh Talhah was a *khalīfah* (vice-regent) of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas, the founder of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order. It was at this *pesantren* that Abah Sepuh first studied the teaching of the Sufi order (Soebardi 1978: 219-220). As Dhofier has shown, it is common in the *pesantren* tradition that students move from one *pesantren* to another to master various fields of Islamic science. Dhofier describes such students as 'knowledge-seeking wanderers' (1982: 24). As he was interested in Sufism, Abah Sepuh made Pesantren Kalisapu the last stop in his wandering.

Soebardi suggests that Abah Sepuh went to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage and remained there to study the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order with a very famous *shaykh*, namely Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim, the successor to Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas (Soebardi 1978: 220). During the second half of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth century, many students from Java stayed in Mecca and Medina where they pursued various branches of Islamic knowledge. Soebardi assumes that the duration of Abah Sepuh's stay in Mecca was from 1876 to 1905, the date of the establishment of Pesantren Suryalaya (1978: 220). This would be a period of twenty-nine years.

This assumption is questionable, however, because in other sources it is suggested that Suryalaya was not the first *pesantren* Abah Sepuh established. When studying at Pesantren Kalisapu, Abah Sepuh had already a *pesantren* at Tundangan, which he founded either in 1871 (Djamily 1990: 6) or in 1890 (Sanusi 1990: 96), so that at the time he did not remain in Kalisapu permanently. Sometimes he taught at Pesantren Tundangan, which was another centre of the teachings of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order. On one occasion Abah Sepuh was imprisoned by the Dutch colonial government for two reasons: first, because he did not have a letter of permission to offer Islamic education to his community. Another reason, cited by the Dutch government, was that he taught his community teachings that deviated from Islamic doctrines. This threatened the social harmony and peace of the community. After he was released, his *pesantren* was moved to Cisero, Pageregeung, but there the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order failed to flourish. As a consequence, he chose to move his *pesantren* yet again this time to Godebag, its present location, which was later renamed Suryalaya. There he became known as Kyai Godebag. When he established Suryalaya, Abah Sepuh was already 65 years old (Dasuki 1990: 26-29). Thus, if he had already founded a *pesantren* and moved it twice, he must have returned to West Java before 1905.

It is not clear whether Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim appointed Abah Sepuh as his vice-regent (*khalīfah*). Sources such as Djamily (1987; 1990), Sanusi (1990), and Jahja (1990) never mention that Shaykh Abdullah Mubarak studied the Sufi order with Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim in Mecca. Nor does the *silsilah* (chain) of the Sufi order of Suryalaya mention Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim as one of its *shaykh*. Abah Sepuh was not only appointed *khalīfah* of the Sufi order by Shaykh Ṭalhah but was entrusted with the honour of being his successor as a *shaykh* of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order. The inauguration ceremony of the new *shaykh*, known as *khirqah* (mantle), was held in 1908 in Shaykh Talhah's house, in the village of Trusmi, Cirebon (Dasuki 1990: 30). Before Abah Sepuh became a *shaykh* of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order, in 1907 Shaykh Talhah, who was then 115 years of age, had visited Pesantren Suryalaya to evaluate the development of the Sufi order. He observed that it was more progressive than that of Kalisapu. This is probably the reason Shaykh Talhah appointed Abah Sepuh *shaykh*. The later development of Suryalaya as a centre of the teaching of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order gained steadily in momentum (Dasuki 1990: 29).

Abah Sepuh guided Pesantren Suryalaya for about forty-five years or until 1950, the year he was no longer able to lead it, weighed down by the burden of his great age (Djamily 1990: 6). He passed away on 25 January 1956 at the age of 120 and was buried in the upper part of the grounds in the

pesantren complex. The tomb of Abah Sepuh is an important place of *ziarah* (pilgrimage) attracting not only the students and members of the community but also visitors who come to the *pesantren* to seek *barakah* (blessing). The grave has a roof and a stone wall with a locked door. The tombstone is in the shape of a lotus flower made of ceramic material (Soebardi 1978: 221). The tomb, which is located at the centre of the building, is always well maintained. In the front part of the building there is a special room for visitors (Galba 1991: 18).

During the period of Abah Sepuh's leadership, Pesantren Suryalaya achieved significant progress, particularly in the propagation of the teachings of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order to the Islamic community. During his life-time, he had already witnessed its expansion, not only in West Java but also in Central and East Java (Galba 1991: 18). Pertinently, the development of education and learning activities during the period was not reported.

Hagiographic accounts of Abah Sepuh's life are filled with stories of his patience, firmness, and piety. His daughter, Siti Residah, recalls that Abah Sepuh went to a *Mauludan* (the Prophet's birthday) ceremony at which he was not given food so that he was extremely hungry. But he was so patient that he did not ask for it. On the way he went home Abah Sepuh met an old woman who invited him to eat at her home (1985: 13-15).

A story about the Project of Rawa Lakbok shows the strong belief in Abah Sepuh's magical power. Sanusi reports that initially the swamp functioned as a sheltered forest. Then the plan was to turn it into a productive irrigated rice-field. The work of clearing Rawa Lakbok which was famous among the surrounding community for its eeriness, was extremely arduous. In fact, many workers fell sick and some of them even died. As a consequence, many grew scared and stopped working. This put the Regent of Ciamis in a quandary and he was advised to seek the help of Abah Sepuh by requesting his prayer. The *ajengan* fulfilled the request. Afterwards, people returned to their work and no one else fell sick or died (Sanusi 1990: 101-102).

Siti Residah reports that all of Abah Sepuh's predictions about the future became realities. She writes:

> One day, after *rama* [the polite Javanese term for father] had something to drink, I was invited to go for a walk. While we were walking, *rama* said: "Nyai, one time in the future this place will be busy and the hill side will be torn down by Noor Anom to build a school. He will be its director. Now he is still a child and will be sent to Islamic schools. And this road will be paved in order that vehicles can pass. And this place will become a small town which is lit up by electricity and filled with the buildings of my descendants. Guests from everywhere will come to visit your [illegible] brother as my successor. Their number will be much greater than today (1985: [illegible]

An important unforgotten legacy of Abah Sepuh is that in 1954 he wrote a Sundanese treatise called *Tanbīh* (religious admonition) as a *wasiat* (exhortation) to his students and followers which basically contains the admonition to be assiduous in all matters and not to contravene either Islamic doctrines or Governmental regulations (Galba 1991: 18). The *Tanbīh* recommends four basic *kebajikan* (good deeds) which derive from purity: *first*, one has to pay respect to 'higher' people in either physical or spiritual matters; *second*, one has to be modest and co-operate with fellow human beings in observing both the rules of God and the rules of the state and do one's most to avoid any conflicts and fights; *third*, one is forbidden to humiliate anyone else and to be arrogant to people who are in a lower station in life. Instead, one has to love them and show them mercy. *Finally*, one has to love and be friendly and good to the poor to show that one is conscious of the fact that the poor never expected to be poor (Nurol Aen and Mubarak 1990: 355-356).

Referring to the *Tanbīh* the Rector of Islamic Institute of Latifah Mubarokiyyah, as quoted by Djamily, points out:

> This *Tanbīh* is an exhortation recorded by Shaykhuna Almarhum Shaykh Haji Abdullah Mubarak ibn Nur Muhammad in *Patapan Suryalaya Kejembaran Rahmaniyah* (the complex of the beloved and famous Suryalaya), which is given to all students, male and female, young and old. The exhortation must be obeyed in every aspect by all students in order to gain salvation in this world and the Hereafter (Djamily 1990: 124).

The *Tanbīh* is the home exhortation of Pesantren Suryalaya that must be understood, mastered as well as believed and practiced as proof of devotion to the *shaykh* and to please God by observing all God's commandments and obeying the government's rules. In this sense, therefore, the *Tanbīh* is closely tied up with national development (Djamily 1990: 127). Since the proclamation of the Republic of Indonesia, Pesantren Suryalaya has become a partner with the government in the realisation of national development aims. The *Tanbīh* is a valuable legacy of Shaykh Abdullah Mubarak which continues to constitute the formal rule in Pesantren Suryalaya.

B. The Spiritual Power of Abah Anom

After Abah Sepuh passed away, the leadership of Pesantren Suryalaya was assumed by his son, Aḥmad Ṣāḥib al-Wafā' Tāj al-'Ārifīn (Ahmad Shohibulwafa Tadjul Arifin) known as Abah Anom, the young *kyai* as distinct from his father who was known as Abah Sepuh, the old *kyai*. Abah Anom, the principle leader of the Pesantren Tarekat of Suryalaya at present, really began

to lead the *pesantren* in 1950, six years before his father died. Abah Anom was born on 1 January 1915, ten years after the establishment of Suryalaya (Djamily 1990: 6). So Abah Anom was 35 years old when he began to assist his father in guiding the *pesantren*. This age is a relatively *anom* (young) age to lead a *pesantren* and a Sufi order. It should be remembered that by that time Abah Sepuh was more than a hundred, an age which in all conscience may be regarded as *sepuh* (old). Thus, *anom* and *sepuh* were used to make the distinction between the two leaders (Sanusi 1990: 104-105).

As Soebardi mentions, unlike his father and the majority of famous *kyai* in Java at this period. He was educated in various *pesantren* in Java as well as by his erudite father (1978: 221). After finishing primary school, Abah Anom attended the *Tsanawiyah* (Islamic secondary school) in Ciamis for two years. From 1930 to 1931 he continued his education in Pesantren Cicariang where he learned *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), the Qur'ān, and the Traditions of the Prophet. After this Abah Anom learned *fiqh, nahw* (Arabic syntax), *ṣarf* (Arabic morphology), and *balāghah* (Arabic literature) in Pesantren Jambudipa for one and a half years. His wandering continued to a *pesantren* in Gentur where he remained for the same length of time. This *pesantren* was led by a famous *ajengan* named Shatibi who had mastered *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *tauḥīd* (Islamic theology), *tafsīr* (Qur'ānic exegesis), *ḥadīth* (the Traditions of the Prophet), and *ilmu alat* (Arabic grammar). These three *pesantren* were all located in Cianjur, West Java. Abah Anom then spent two years studying in Pesantren Cireunghas in Sukabumi with Ajengan Atjeng Mumu who was famous for his *ilmu hikmah* (magical knowledge acquired from the collections of prayers and by spiritual training) and *silat* (traditional self-defence arts). Afterwards, he steeped himself in *ilmu hikmah* and *silat* with another famous *ajengan* at Pesantren Citengah in Panjalu (Saleh 1985: 74; Praja 1990: 115-116).

When Abah Anom was 23 years old, his wanderings from one *pesantren* to another in search of knowledge ended with his marriage to Euis Siti Ru'yanah. Then between 1938 and 1939 he went to Mecca for the pilgrimage and remained there for seven months. During this period Abah Anom participated in *ḥalaqah* (*bandongan*) learning at the Masjid al-Ḥarām in which he studied *tafsīr* (Qur'ānic exegesis) and *ḥadīth* (the Traditions). There is no record of whom his teacher was in the holy mosque. Besides this, as Praja describes, in Jabal Qubaish a *khalīfah* (vice-regent) of Abah Sepuh from Garut, namely Shaykh Ramli, often held discussions on Sufism, particularly the books *Sirr al-Asrār* and *Ghaniyyah al-Ṭālibīn* by Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī (the Founder of *Qādiriyyah* Order). Abah Anom also participated in these discussions (Praja 1990: 116-117).

Under the leadership of Abah Anom, Pesantren Suryalaya went from

strength to strength, improving its capacity for formal education, which today consists of various levels of schooling from kindergarten to an Islamic university, and also building its non-formal training. As well as this it is a dignified representative of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order. As the son of a famous *shaykh*, Abah Anom was fortunate to inherit his father's charisma. This is in striking contrast to other *pesantren*, which used to be centres of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in Java such as al-Falak Pangentongan, Futuhiyah Mranggen, and Darul Ulum Rejoso. Unlike Abah Anom, the successors in these *pesantren* have not been able to maintain their founders' charisma, so that they have lost their prestige as centres of the Sufi order. Abah Anom's position as the successor to Abah Sepuh is described by Soebardi as follows.

> Thus he continues his father's task, and inherited *'baraka'* (spiritual power, divine grace) from him. Continuing the teaching of his father, the spiritual power is maintained by him and guarded and strengthened by all the members of the *tarikat* by visiting the grave of his father. Thus the tomb of *Shaykh* Mubarak in the *pesantren* complex is regarded as a holy tomb and an important factor in the continuation of the *tarikat* by *Abah Anom* (1978: 221).

Besides maintaining and embellishing his heritage, Abah Anom is expert in the three important branches of Islamic knowledge: *tauhīd* (Islamic theology); *fiqh* (Islamic law); and *taṣawwuf* (Sufism). His excellence in Arabic, an important requisite for a *kyai* in the *pesantren* tradition, as well as in Indonesian and in Sundanese, has also bolstered his success in leading the *pesantren* and the Sufi order (Soebardi 1978: 222). He is also blessed with strong personal magnetism. Today, in his eighties, which is an *uzur* (enfeebled) age for the average Indonesian, he appears much younger than his years and this impresses both his followers and visitors to the *pesantren* (Galba 1991: 19). Still benefiting from the great influence of Abah Anom as its leader, the *pesantren* attracts a large number of followers from different regions, social strata, and occupations.

The followers of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order of Suryalaya are found not only in Indonesia, but also in Malaysia and Singapore. In the province of West Java, apart from Tasikmalaya Regency, many members of Pesantren Suryalaya are also to be found in the Bandung region. Here several students of Abah Sepuh such as Haji Sewaka (an ex-governor of West Java and ex-Minister of Defence under Soekarno's government) and Raden Rachmat Wiratanumadja (an ex-secretary of the province) played a significant role in spreading the Sufi order. The role of another famous and rich student of Abah Sepuh, Haji Sobari, should also not be overlooked. It is in one of his houses in Tasikmalaya that Abah Sepuh lodged for several years before he passed

away. Following in the footsteps of his father, Abah Anom has an impressive number of students. Among them are Ahmad Sanusi (a professor and ex-Rector of the State Institute for Educational Studies of Bandung), Oteng Sutisna (a professor in the same institute) and Eddy Nurhadi (a professor in the Institute for Technology of Bandung) and these are just some of the famous people who have become members of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order of Suryalaya. In the Jakarta and Bogor areas, besides such illustrious followers as General Yoga Soegama, several famous artists such as Eddy Sud, Titik Puspa, and Hetty Koes Endang have become members of Pesantren Suryalaya (Praja and Anwar 1990: 201-202). In Central Java, in the Pekalongan region, the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order of Suryalaya was first introduced in 1929 by a student of Abah Sepuh, Haji Anwar ibn Haji Abdurrahman (who died in 1988). His relationship with Abah Sepuh was so close that he was married to one of Abah Sepuh's daughter, Sofiyah. Their son is Zainal Abidin, the present chief of the division of science and missionary activities in Pesantren Suryalaya and one of Abah Anom's *khalīfah*. Zainal Abidin is very active in the development of the *pesantren*. In East Java the *pesantren* also attracts some followers, including some lecturers at the State Institute for Islamic Studies of Sunan Ampel (Praja and Anwar 1990: 203-205). There is no information available about the relationship of members of Pesantren Suryalaya with other members of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in Pesantren Pangentongan, Pesantren Mranggen, and Pesantren Rejoso.

The followers of Pesantren Suryalaya are also scattered throughout South Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Lombok. In these regions some followers of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order, who received their knowledge of it through other vice-regents of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas, have become members of Pesantren Suryalaya. K.H. Abdurrani Mahmud from Pontianak, West Kalimantan, for instance, became one of Abah Anom's deputies (*badal*) in 1977 (Praja and Anwar 1990: 205; Nurol Aen and Mubarak 1990: 350-351).

In Singapore and Malaysia there are many followers of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* of Suryalaya. In Singapore, the Sufi order was first introduced by a student of Abah Sepuh, Haji Ibin Sarbini. Because of its rapid development, in 1975 Abah Anom inaugurated a deputy (*badal*) named Haji Ali ibn Haji Muhammad. The relationship between the two regions then became even closer. Some famous preachers such as Haji Abubakar Atjeh and K.H. Zainal Abidin Anwar were sent to the region to propagate both the Sufi order and Islamic teachings in general. As a result of their efforts, the number of its followers has continued to increase. According to a report provided by Praja and Anwar, in 1987 there were about three thousand members of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* of Suryalaya in Singapore (1990: 213). The number of members in Malaysia is much larger than that in Singapore. The

members are scattered throughout Kedah, Kuala Lumpur, Trengganu, Sabah, and Serawak. To ensure that they are properly served religiously, Abah Anom has appointed four deputies (*badal*) to Malaysia, namely: Haji Muhammad Said ibn Muhammad Al-Attas to Sabah; Haji Muhammad Trang Issa to Serawak; Haji Muhammad Otsman ibn Haji Abdullatif to Trengganu; and Haji Muhammad Zuki ibn Shafie to Kedah (Praja and Anwar 1990: 214-221; Nurol Aen and Mubarak 1990: 350-351).

As its principal teacher and leader of the Sufi order, Abah Anom exercises final authority over various faithful deputies (*badal*) who are scattered throughout various areas in Southeast Asia. The deputies (*badal*) are authorised to take the oaths of new students who wish to become followers of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order. The deputies are selected, trained, and inaugurated to become the propagators and leaders of the Sufi order in their own region. They are actually not organised in a formal way under the central authority of Abah Anom, but are bound by ties of common devotion and by the methods of spiritual discipline, as well as being united in their religious enthusiasm (Soebardi 1978: 222-223). It is important to note that the *badal* play a great role in disseminating the Sufi order and attracting new members and in accelerating the process of Islamisation in the region.

Besides his position as the leader of the Sufi order, Abah Anom still continues to be the leader of the *pesantren* and as such is known as the *Sesepuh* (elder) within the structure of the organisation of Pesantren Suryalaya. To organise practical matters, daily activities of the *pesantren*, and implement its programmes, a legal foundation known as *Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya* (Foundation of All Services of Pesantren Suryalaya) was established in 1961. The chief mover behind its establishment was an important figure named Haji Sewaka and its first chief executive was Haji Sobari. In the 1990-1992 period, the foundation was headed by Haji Tutu Ruhiyat Mintapraja who was responsible for establishing several branches of the foundation in some other areas in Indonesia. Today, branches of the foundation can be found in twenty-nine cities in Java, South Sumatra, and West Kalimantan. The main duties of the foundation are to organise formal and non-formal education and to manage the missionary activities as well as economic and social undertakings of its members in the centre of Pesantren Suryalaya and in other areas (Praja 1990: 126-130). Because it falls under the authority of the *Sesepuh*, the foundation has no power to judge and evaluate the leadership of Abah Anom (Dasuki 1990: 31-32). This being the case, the leadership pattern of Pesantren Suryalaya can be included, to a large extent, in a category which Mastuhu has called "charismatic leadership" (1990: 88). This is quite different from the type of leadership in Pesantren Tebuireng which is directed by a politician, Yusuf Hashim.

The success of Abah Anom's leadership can be measured by the large number of his students and followers and it is also revealed by the fact that Pesantren Suryalaya regularly receives praise from and is awarded honours by the government, both central and local, for its effectiveness in supporting national and local development programmes. Besides immaterial rewards, the *pesantren* frequently receives material contributions from the government to assist its educational development and to support activities of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order. Moral support is also given to the *pesantren*, as Soebardi observes:

> Both local as well as the central government officials are most conscious of the potentialities of the *pesantren* and follow its activities very closely. By means of the regional branch of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the regional administration, the central government indicated its interest in the development of the *pesantren* as testified by the visits by local government officials, both civil and military, to the *pesantren* during important religious ceremonies (1978: 230).

Conscient of the ideals and aims as these are written in the *Tanbīh* (Religious Admonition), the *pesantren* always follows government rules, as well as observes strict obedience to the doctrines of Islam. There is plenty of evidence to show that Pesantren Suryalaya does its best to co-operate with the government in several sectors – religious, social, and political. A good example is the political support given by the *pesantren* to the government. During the the tumultuous period of the Darul Islam movement led by Kartosuwiryo in the 1950s Abah Anom organised his followers to combat the radical movement. As a reward for his loyalty, Abah Anom was granted an award from Kodam III Siliwangi (the Siliwangi Military Division of West Java) on 17 September 1961 and was entrusted by the military authorities of West Java with educating and guiding the remnants of the Darul Islam guerrillas. Similarly, in 1967 Abah Anom was given the task of giving Islamic instruction to former members of the Indonesian Communist Party by the Head of the Office of Religious Affairs of the Siliwangi Division of West Java (Soebardi 1978: 229).

Assiduous in its support of government policies, Pesantren Suryalaya has made great efforts to spread the doctrine of Pancasila, the basic ideology of Indonesia, among the community. A logical consequence of this is that Abah Anom also supports the Golkar (the government political faction) and urges his followers to join, or at least to vote for, the party. After the 1982 general elections, he was rewarded by the government for the success of the party, and then in 1984 he was appointed a *pinisepuh* ('elder') of the Golkar (Praja 1990: 124). This is an appropriate juncture to quote Abah Anom's admonitions to his followers:

> Let us hope that the Head of the State will steadily increase his glory and greatness, so that he can give protection and guidance to all the people in an atmosphere of peace, justice, and prosperity, spiritually as well as materially. I, as leader of this brotherhood, wish sincerely to offer counsel to all members that it is the responsibility of each one of you to take care in all circumstances, not to do anything which is against the rules of religion as well as those of the state. Be loyal to both religion and state. Such is the attitude of a person who is strong in faith and who is able to express gratitude to God and to the government (Soebardi 1978: 230-231).

The position of Abah Anom is unconditionally honoured and even strengthened by all his followers because in the *pesantren* tradition whatever is said by the *shaykh* must be obeyed. To disobey him is tantamount to committing a sin. This is in striking contrast to what happened to Kyai Musta'in Ramli who joined the Golkar and urged his followers to vote for the party but was then deserted by many of his followers.

C. The Teachings and Rituals of *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* of Suryalaya

The doctrine of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order taught by Pesantren Suryalaya is basically that taught by its founder, Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas. The leader of Pesantren Suryalaya asserts that his Sufi order is based on the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth, two basic sources of Islam, which consequently ineluctably form the foundation of the teaching of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order. In his book, *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr* (*Kunci Pembuka Dada*, "Opening Key to the Chest"), Abah Anom (1988) quotes a large number of verses of the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth as the basis of the Sufi order. They refer to such matters as *dhikir* (remembrance), *talqīn* ('instruction'), *bay'ah* (vow of allegiance), and *silsilah* (chain). To support his exhortation, he also refers to thoughts of several famous Sufis such as Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī, Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn al-Naqshabandī, and al-Ghazālī. To the followers of the Sufi order in Indonesia, the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order, which is centred in Pesantren Suryalaya, does not at all run contrary to the basic teachings of Islam, nor is it an additional element to it. It has very strong roots in Islamic doctrine. Besides the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth, the followers of the Sufi order also adhere to two other sources of Islam, which fall within the realm of orthodoxy. They are *ijmā'* (the consensus of *'ulamā'*) and *qiyās* (analogy). These are used particularly in explications of matters that are not explained by the Qur'ān and the Traditions of the Prophet (Djamily 1990: 110).

The practices of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order are carried out with, at least, three purposes, which are set out in Abah Anom's treatise

entitled *Azas Tujuan Thoreqat Qodiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah* (Foundation and Aim of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order). The purposes are expressed in a daily *du'ā'* (prayer), which is performed at least twice every day after *ṣalāh* (obligatory prayers). The prayer says: "*Ilāhī anta maqṣūdī wa ridāk maṭlūbī, a'ṭinī maḥabbatak wa ma'rifatak*" (O my God, Thou art my goal and Thy pleasure is my desire, grant me Thy love and Thy knowledge) (Dasuki 1990: 46; Djamily 1990: 24). As it is recited as a daily ritual, the prayer is part of the being of the followers of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order of Pesantren Suryalaya.

When it is comprehensively analysed, the prayer contains three purposes allied to the teaching of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* in Suryalaya. The first purpose is *taqarrub ilā Allāh* or to approach God as closely as possible so that there is no separation between God and His creatures. The second purpose is to follow the Path which is blessed by God for those wishing to worship Him, obeying all His commandments and avoiding transgressing all His prohibitions in order to achieve His pleasure. The third purpose is *maḥabbah* (love) and *ma'rifah* (knowledge, gnosis) of God which are gained through adherence to the blessed path. It is understood that *maḥabbah* (love) and *ma'rifah* (gnosis) are replete with steadfastness and honesty. When one loves and knows God, a variety of *ḥikmah* (wisdom) will take root in one's soul. Then it becomes second nature to the adept to perform both outer (*lahir*) worship and inner (*batin*) worship that will manifest themselves in justice in attitude and behaviour. Besides this, the reflection of *maḥabbah* and *ma'rifah* in Sufism generates love and affection towards fellow creatures of God, and extends to include love of the homeland (Praja 1990: 137-138; Dasuki 1990: 46-47).

These three purposes lie at the central core of Islamic teaching. Like that of other Sufi orders in Islam, the principle ritual practised by the followers of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order is *dhikir* (remembrance), which is observed regularly and consistently, either individually or collectively. In the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order of Suryalaya, *dhikir* (remembrance) is regarded as the core of *'ibādah* (worship) which can be understood as remembrance of God by negating all others (all creatures), because God is the only One Who possesses all excellent attributes. To perform *dhikir* constantly means to always remember God. The best formula of *dhikir* is "*lā ilāh illā Allāh*", "there is no god but Allah", which is usually known as the *kalimah ṭayyibah* (originally 'good word') because it negates all other gods but affirms the confession of the unity of God. The followers of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in Suryalaya are expected to chant the *kalimah ṭayyibah* at any time and under any conditions, especially after obligatory prayers (Dasuki 1990: 50). This is because the *kalimah ṭayyibah* has several functions, on

which Abah Anom has writen:

> The *kalimah tayyibah* [good word] can cleanse one who chants it from great *shirk* as well as small *shirk* and make him become a sincere and pure man. It can also break the separation between man's heart and God, can cleanse his soul from all impurity and disgraceful characteristics ... [It] also grants one *kashf* [spiritual intuition], in addition to a true and sincere character, *ilmu ladunni* [knowledge which is not learned but is granted by God], spiritual secrets, and *mushāhadah* [spiritual witness] as God's blessings (1988: 15-16).

There are two kinds of *dhikir* practiced by the followers of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order, namely *dhikir jahar* (loud *dhikr*) and *dhikir khāfī* or *dhikir sirr* or *dhikir qalbī* (mental *dhikr* or silent *dhikr*). The first *dhikir* was originally taught by the *Qādiriyyah* Order whereas the other was espoused by the *Naqshabandiyyah* Order which forbids the *dhikir jahar* (loud *dhikir*). In Pesantren Suryalaya the *dhikir jahar* is recited as loudly as possible. Soebardi has the impression that the *dhikir jahar* is more important than *dhikir khāfī*, which is recited softly in a low voice or simply repeated in the adept's thoughts. The *dhikir jahar* is observed communally everyday after the *maghrib* (sunset) prayer and the *dhikir khāfī* is usually carried out after the *dhikir jahar*. Soebardi points out that the practices of the Sufi order in Pesantren Suryalaya are basically those of the *Qādiriyyah* Order to which the practice of *dhikir khāfī* of the *Naqshabandiyyah* Order has been joined (1978: 225-226). To the followers of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order, however, the *dhikir khāfī* is as important as the *dhikir jahar* because it can be performed under any conditions every day (Munawar-Rahman and Ismail 1991: 103). Abah Anom has discussed several famous views by Sufis who have discussed which *dhikir* is better (1988: 39-47). He concludes that each *dhikir* is important under its own circumstances. The *dhikir khāfī* is better if the performance of *dhikir jahar* were to disturb other people who are performing prayers or are asleep. Otherwise, the *dhikir jahar* is better because it enhances enthusiasm, directs the hearing of those performing it, reducing their sleepiness and listlessness (1988: 46-47).

In accordance with the teachings of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas as expressed in *Fath al-'Ārifīn*, the *dhikir jahar* should be performed in a certain manner (I follow Soebardi's translation in 1978: 225).

> The word *lā* should begin below the navel and rise to the brain in the head; after that, one should say *ilāha*, from the brain while lowering the head slowly to the right shoulder. Then one should begin to say *illallāh* while lowering the head from the right shoulder toward the base of the chest on the left-hand side, concluding with the innermost heart beneath the rib, and exhaling while pronouncing the name of Allah as strongly as possible until the vibrations are felt through every part of the body as if

> throughout the body evil works are burnt up and light shines until all parts of the body are purified with the Light of God (Tajul Arifin 1988: 33).

The rhythm of *dhikir jahar* is also caught in a certain way. It begins in a slow rhythm and then, the longer the *dhikir* goes on the faster the rhythm becomes. It stops when its intensity is at the culminating point, which is usually signalled by a return to a slow rhythm (Van Bruinessen 1992a: 96). Soebardi observes that the ritual is commonly carried out under the leadership of a *shaykh* or *imām* (leader) who leads the communal prayer (1978: 225).

It is suggested that the body movements associated with the *dhikir jahar* have two functions. The first is to counterbalance the movement of *iblīs* (evil) in its efforts to tempt man as said in the Qur'ān.

> He said: Because Thou hast thrown me out of the way, lo! I will lie in wait for them on Thy straight way. Then will I assault them from before them and behind them, from their right and their left. Nor wilt Thou find, in most of them, gratitude (for Thy mercies) (7: 16-17).

The Prophet Muhammad once suggested that evil has destroyed man by tempting him to sin, whereas man has destroyed evil with repetition of the *kalimah ṭayyibah* ('good word') and *istighfār* (seeking forgiveness). Another function is merely for the pleasure of the followers, which would be impossible were it to be performed in a stationary position. (Djamily 1990: 114).

The *dhikir jahar* is usually chanted 165 times or more, but it always has to be an odd number. In certain busy situations the adept is permitted to perform it at least three times. The number 165 is based on a *qiyās* (analogy) derived from a saying of the Prophet Muhammad, which teaches Muslims to recited '*subḥān Allāh*' (Glory be to God), '*al-hamd li Allāh*' (Praise be to God), and '*Allāh akbar* (God is greater than all) thirty-three times each. Because man has five *laṭīfah* (subtleties), every subtlety is pronounced thirty-three times in the so-called *kalimah ṭayyibah*, that is, *lā ilāh illā Allāh* (there is no god but God) (Djamily 1990: 111). The *dhikr jahar* may be practised either individually or collectively. In his book entitled *'Uqūd al-Jumān* (Nasution 1990), Abah Anom has described in detail the daily ritual known as *wiridan* (routine form of *dhikir*), which should be performed every time after the five prescribed daily prayers. The daily ritual basically consists of the recitation of the *kalimah ṭayyibah*, invocation to the Prophet, prayers and *tawassul* ('pronouncing mediators in praying') that are observed a certain number of times.

In addition to the daily ritual, the weekly ritual known as *khataman* and the monthly ritual known as *manaqiban* are observed in the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order of Pesantren Suryalaya. *Khataman*, which basically

contains prayers to God, is performed at the very least once a week and may be performed individually or collectively. It is usually arranged to be held in turn in the houses of followers of the Sufi order. The time and frequency of *khataman* depend on them (Galba 1991: 61-62). In Pesantren Suryalaya, *khataman* is usually carried out twice a week between *maghrib* (sunset) and *ishā'* (night) prayers. Like the daily *wiridan*, as described in *'Uqūd al-Jum'ān*, *khataman* consists of an invocation, prayer and *tawassul*, but they are performed a large number of times.

Another very important ritual is called *manaqiban*. In Pesantren Suryalaya this is carried out at the assembly held on the eleventh of each month of the lunar calendar. Therefore, it is also called *sebelasan*. The *manaqiban* consists of the ritual of reciting the life-story of the Prophet Muhammad or of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī, emphasising the virtues and miraculous aspects of their lives (Soebardi 1978: 226). In the *manaqiban* ceremony, the *Tanbīh* (Religious Admonition) of Shaykh Abdullah Mubarak is also recited and *tawassul*, which is never neglected in any ritual of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order, is chanted. The ceremony is usually completed by a *ceramah* or speech discussing some aspects of Islamic teaching (Praja 1990: 144). Soebardi observed that the *manaqiban* ceremony in Pesantren Suryalaya was attended by a large number of disparate participants consisting of peasants, public servants, merchants, and even soldiers, not only from the district of Tasikmalaya but also from other regencies such as Ciamis, Garut, Cianjur, Bogor, and Bandung (1978: 223).

As is requested by other Sufi orders, to become a member of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order of Pesantren Suryalaya, the candidate must follow an initiation rite called *bay'ah* (a vow of allegiance). This involves an individual's swearing of a full vow of allegiance and loyalty to the *shaykh* promising to practise all the rituals and rules decreed by the *shaykh* (Tajul Arifin 1988: 48). An initial element in the process of *bay'ah* is that the novice is given secret instruction called *talqīn*. *Talqīn*, which originally means simply instruction, is a process of reviving the heart, which may be used to not forgetting God, by filling it with the *dhikir khāfī* (secret *dhikir*) so that the heart will always remember Him (Munawar-Rahman and Ismail 1991: 102). In this process the novice is instructed in the seven subtleties and receives a course of progressive training in the *dhikir jahar* (loud *dhikir*). When he or she is well prepared, the *bay'ah* is carried out (Soebardi 1978: 226). Abah Anom has discussed the importance of *talqīn* (instruction) and *bay'ah* in his Sufi order, citing several verses of the Qur'ān and the Traditions of the Prophet to support his admonitions (1988: 48-68).

Talqīn may be performed individually or in a group and the place where it is carried out depends on the number of the novices. In Pesantren

Suryalaya, it is often carried out by Abah Anom in the mosque after obligatory prayers. Every Muslim is free to partake of the instruction. In fact, as Galba observes, the *pesantren* is always thronged with the novices who come there for instruction. These novices are not only the students of the *pesantren* and the surrounding community, but include visitors to the *pesantren*. Those who have been given *talqīn* and have sworn *bay'ah* are regarded as *ikhwān* (brethren) of Pesantren Suryalaya (Galba 1991: 16).

The imparting of *talqīn* in other regions is performed by Abah Anom's *badal* (deputy). They are empowered to administer the initiation vow and to give secret instruction to the novices in their own district. Abah Anom has twenty-three *badal* (deputy) scattered throughout West, Central, and East Java, as well as those active in South Sumatra, Lombok, Malaysia, and Singapore. These *badal* are the chosen members who have completed a training course organised in Pesantren Suryalaya and been awarded *ijazah* (licence) to teach and initiate new students. Every month some *badal* return to Pesantren Suryalaya and are given further instruction and education by Abah Anom (Soebardi 1978: 227).

D. Pondok Remaja Inabah

A unique characteristic of Pesantren Suryalaya is its function as a centre for the treatment of narcotics addicts and delinquent youth. The rehabilitation centre is known as the Pondok Remaja Inabah. From the time it was established in 1972, the centre has won a reputation for being successful and effective in its treatment. According to a report quoted by Munawar-Rahman and Ismail, between 1981 and 1989 almost all of the patients were successfully cured, reaching a percentage of 93.424 (1991: 105). As a result, the number of patients has significantly increased every year and, in 1990, to respond to such a growing need of the community, Pesantren Suryalaya has established twenty-three branches of Pondok Remaja Inabah scattered throughout Java, plus two in Kedah (Malaysia) and Singapore. This was undertaken to ensure that the Pondok Remaja Inabah can be easily reached by those who need it (Galba 1991: 31-33).

The method of curing used in the Pondok Remaja Inabah is based on the teaching of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order and on Islamic teachings in general. This is in line with the meaning of the word *'inābah'* which is " return to the Path of God". The goal is to return addicts and other sufferers to the Path that God has laid down for mankind. It is probably no exaggeration to suggest that Pesantren Suryalaya is the only place in the world that provides treatment using such a method. Abah Anom compiled a

curriculum and syllabus as a guide to the treatment. It is entitled *Ibadah Sebagai Metoda Pembinaan Korban Penyalahgunaan Narkotika dan Kenakalan Remaja* (Worship as a Method of Treatment for Narcotic Addict and Youth Delinquency) and part of it is the Islamic cycle of worship. He also provides three verses of the Qur'ān (17: 82; 10: 57; 13: 28) and two sayings of the Prophet as the doctrinal bases of the method.

1. We send down (stage by stage) in the Qur'ān that which is a healing and a mercy to those who believe. To the unjust it causes nothing but loss after loss (17: 82).
2. O mankind! There hath come to you a direction from your Lord and a healing for the (diseases) in your hearts and, for those who believe, a guide and a mercy (10: 57).
3. To those who believe, and whose hearts find satisfaction in the remembrance of Allah; for without doubt in the remembrance of Allah do hearts find satisfaction (13: 28).

The two Ḥadīth are translated as follows: first, remembrance of God is a healing to hearts; and second, indeed every disease has medicine and the medicine to the hearts is remembrance of God (Nurol Aen 1990: 397-398).

In Pesantren Suryalaya the process of treatment usually begins with a diagnosis of the patient by Abah Anom on the basis of information from the patient's parents or relatives, as well as that divined by Abah Anom's spiritual knowledge. Abah Anom is also the one who decides in which Pondok Remaja Inabah a patient who comes to Suryalaya might be treated. In the other branches of Pondok Remaja Inabah the authority lies in the hands of the chief of the Inabah, a deputy of Abah Anom, who is responsible for the decision and the whole process of treatment. In the first week of a patient's stay in one of the Pondok Remaja Inabah, its chief can usually decide the category of the patient's sickness. Then it is decided whether the patient can be given the *talqīn* (instruction) of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order. The patient's sickness is generally categorized as either minor (*ringan*) or serious (*berat*). In the case of a minor indisposition the patients commonly require forty days or less of treatment, whereas the serious patients need about six months. All patients are given treatment according to the curriculum that Abah Anom has laid down (Nurol Aen 1990: 410-411).

Reports on the process of treatment in Pondok Remaja Inabah of Pesantren Suryalaya say that during day and night the patients perform *mandi tobat* (bath for repentance), five obligatory prayers, and a series of recommended prayers such as *Tahajjud*, *Tasbīḥ*, and *Witr* at night, and *Ḍuhā* in the morning and a large number of *Rawatib* before and after the obligatory

prayers, and both *dhikir jahar* (loud *dhikr*) and *dhikir khāfī* (silent *dhikr*). During the treatment the patients are involved only in a variety of worship, obligatory and recommended, which does not give them the opportunity to think of anything except God (Su'dan 1991: 75-77).

Su'dan, the medical doctor who reports on the treatment, has attempted to examine scientific aspects of treatment. *First*, the treatment of the patients by isolating them in a certain place like the Pondok Remaja Inabah is a move to totally isolate them from the drugs which are replaced by a series of acts of worship by which to remember God. *Second*, the patients have to have a bath at night or *mandi tobat* when temperatures have fallen so low in the mountainous area of Tasikmalaya that their blood circulation is improved. This is very important for the brain, heart, and liver in order to function effectively. *Third*, the *dhikir jahar* (loud *dhikir*) is effective for the lungs because breathing reaches at a maximum level when the *dhikir jahar* is performed in the way regulated in the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order of Pesantren Suryalaya (1991: 77-78).

> Through the continuous *dhikir* performed everyday, one is able to gain what C.G. Jung calls the deepest unconsciousness archetype, that is, God. It is in the consciousness of God that a patient of *Inabah* can transform his soul in the direction of mature spiritual development (Munawar-Rahman and Ismail 1991: 105).

Thus, by means of a practical application of the methods of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order, Pesantren Suryalaya has succeeded in making a vital contribution to national development, particularly with regard to neurosis and delinquency. In acknowledgement of its success the *pesantren* has received several awards from and has been praised by the government and by Indonesian society in general.

E. Education in Pesantren Suryalaya

Besides being a centre for the teaching of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order and a centre for the treatment of narcotics addicts and delinquents, Pesantren Suryalaya, like the majority of *pesantren* in Java, is also a centre of education and learning. Today it has several *madrasah* and secular schools from kindergarten to university level. Compared to the educational development of Tebuireng, however, this development is relatively new. There seems to be no record whether a *madrasah* was established there in the period of Abah Sepuh. It seems that Abah Sepuh was much more concerned with the spread of the teaching of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order than with the spread of Islamic teachings in general. Therefore it is highly probable that in

this period only the traditional system of learning was used in the *pesantren*, that is, *sorogan* (individual system) and *bandongan* (communal system). This would mean that to some extent the development of and change in Islamic education in Pesantren Suryalaya were relatively slow compared to those of Pesantren Tebuireng.

It is since Abah Anom assumed the leadership that *madrasah* and schools have developed apace. The first *madrasah* in Pesantren Suryalaya was *Madrasah Diniyah Awwaliyah* (Elementary Religious School), which was founded in 1957, only one year after the death of Abah Sepuh. This *madrasah* was initiated and headed by K.H. Noor Anom Mubarak, one of Abah Sepuh's sons (Hamzah 1990: 374), and it is acknowledged that K.H. Noor Anom Mubarak played a significant role in the development of education and schooling in Pesantren Suryalaya. Therefore, in the structure of Pesantren Suryalaya he is the chief of the educational division. It is K.H. Noor Anom Mubarak who also established the *Sekolah Menengah Pertama* (Junior High School) in 1962 and *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* (Islamic Junior High School) in 1964. When he founded both schools he became their principal. Since 1983 the *Sekolah Menengah Pertama* and the *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* have been headed by Issak Swandana and Ondi Rosadi respectively. K.H. Noor Anom himself has continued to lead the *Madrasah Diniyah Awwaliyah* up to the present day (Hamzah 1990: 374).

A training school for Islamic teachers, known as *Pendidikan Guru Agama*, was established in 1967 under the leadership of Muhammad Amin. Since 1980 its status has been changed to be a *Madrasah Aliyah* (Islamic Senior High School) which is headed by Ahdi Nurudin. In 1976 the *pesantren* also founded a *Sekolah Menengah Atas* (Senior High School) with Ayat Hidayat as its principle. Today this school is led by Haji Tutu Ruhiyat Mintapradja, the chief executive of *Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya* of the 1990-1992 period (Hamzah 1990: 374).

To provide for the needs of the community, the *pesantren* also has a *Taman Kanak-kanak*. This kindergarten was founded in 1978 under the leadership of Abah Anom's late wife, Euis Siti Ru'yanah (who passed away in 1980). It was then headed by Euis Maryam. At a higher level, Pesantren Suryalaya established an institute for Islamic preachers known as *Perguruan Tinggi Da'wah Islam* (PTDI) in 1963. General Sudirman, an Indonesian national hero, was said to have inaugurated the institute. However, this institute closed some years later (Praja 1990: 127). In the existing sources on Pesantren Suryalaya no reason is given for its closure. A new Islamic institute known as *Institut Agama Islam Latifah Mubarokiyyah* (Latifah Mubarokiyyah Institute for Islamic Studies) was established in 1988, consisting of a Faculty of Islamic Education, a Faculty of Islamic Law, and a Faculty of Islamic

Theology. Since its foundation the rector of the institute has been Retired Major General Oepa Soeparja Adimaja (Praja 1990: 127; Hamzah 1990: 375).

Today, Pesantren Suryalaya has seven schools, in addition to the time-honoured *bandongan* system of learning. Like Tebuireng, the schools can be classified into two major divisions. The first is comprised of Islamic-oriented schools known as *madrasah*, consisting of *Madrasah Diniyah Awwaliyah*, *Madrasah Tsanawiyah*, and *Madrasah Aliyah*, in addition to an Islamic university. At *Madrasah Diniyah Awaliyah* only the basic fields of Islamic knowledge such as recitation of the Qur'ān, *fiqh* (Islamic law), *tauḥīd* (Islamic theology), and *akhlāq* (morality) are taught to the students. At the *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* and *Aliyah* the curriculum consists of both Islamic subjects such as *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *tauḥīd* (Islamic theology), *akhlāq* (morality), the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth* (the Traditions of the Prophet) and Islamic history, and secular subjects such as mathematics, natural science, geography, English, and the social sciences, but the secular subjects have no more than a supplementary character. The same applies to the Islamic university. The other educational division consists of general oriented schools: *Sekolah Menengah Pertama* and *Sekolah Menengah Atas* which mainly teach general (secular) fields of knowledge, except for a subject called *Pendidikan Agama Islam* (Religious Education). In its running of schools with both educational orientations, Pesantren Suryalaya attempts to fulfil the needs of society for education.

Such a division is a result of the dualism in the education system in Indonesia, that is, the religious system of education under the authority of the Department of Religious Affairs and the general system of education under that of the Department of National Education. As a consequence, the Islamic school and the institute must be registered with the Department of Religious Affairs abiding by all its regulations, whereas the schools must be registered with the Department of Education abiding by its rules and regulations. This way the government has attempted to establish a national system of education which aims to improve the quality of education for all the people of Indonesia.

Along with the social and educational development of *pesantren* in general Pesantren Suryalaya also provided for its students with non-formal training in a large number of skills such as sewing, electrical repairs, and farming. There are also training centres for typing, with courses on secretarial work, administration, and management, which prepare the students with administrative knowledge and skills. Besides these secular accomplishments, the *pesantren* regularly organises training for *muballigh* (preachers) and directors of *pesantren* who will be sent to various regions of Indonesia, as well as to Malaysia and Singapore (Djamily 1990: 118). There are now more than two thousand preachers from Pesantren Suryalaya scattered throughout these regions (Praja 1990: 130-131).

To sum up, Pesantren Suryalaya has managed to survive in modern Indonesia and, in doing so it has succeeded in attracting rural as well as urban followers from various areas of Southeast Asia. It has also gained a large number of followers from various social ranks and occupations. Apart from its primary function in promoting the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order, it has also organised formal education, both religious and secular, and non-formal education and has been heavily involved in other social and political activities.

CHAPTER SIX
CONCLUSION

The relationship between Java and Mecca through the *ḥajj* during the latter half of nineteenth and the early twentieth century not only inspired the modernist movement in its plan for reform, it also gave impetus to the spread of traditional Islam, including Sufism, in Java. During this period, Sufism in Mecca, which was indubitably a centre of Islamic scholarship, was dominated by the teachings of al-Ghazālī and by the orthodox Sufi orders, mainly the *Naqshabandiyyah* and the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Orders. The influence of the teachings of al-Ghazālī then became dominant in Java and other regions of Southeast Asia. Pertinently, these two Sufi orders tended to displace the entrenched posistion of the *Shaṭṭāriyyah* order which had been the most dominant Sufi order in Southeast Asia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Today the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order has become the most widespread Sufi order in Java and the *Naqshabandiyyah* Order is the most dominant order in outer islands.

As fortresses for the defence of the Islamic community and centres for the spread of Islam, the *pesantren* played a significant role in the maintenance of Sufism in Java. In general, in their relationship to Sufism, the *pesantren* in Java can be classified into two groups: the first is comprised of the *pesantren* that maintain Sufism without being necessarily affiliated with a particular Sufi order. The majority of *pesantren* in Java belong to this category. The other category is composed of the *pesantren* that specialise in the teaching and development of a Sufi order. Only a small number of *pesantren* belong to this category. This classification correlates with the classification of Sufi in general Islamic civilisation, namely the individual Sufi and the founders and followers of Sufi orders.

The works of al-Ghazālī, mainly his *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, *Bidāyah al-Hidāyah*, and *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, dominate the field of Sufism in the majority of *pesantren*. Since the nineteenth century they have reduced the influence of the speculative teachings of al-'Arabī and al-Jīlī, which are regarded as pantheistic, in the *pesantren*. Under the influence of al-Ghazālī, Sufism is an obligatory duty in the *pesantren*, being considered an essential addition to the *sharī'ah*. Sufism is not regarded as mysticism, but as moral teachings on the basis of the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth. Sufism is considered to be comprised of the teaching of piety and of complete devotion to God. In the majority of *pesantren*, the aim of the Sufi is not to achieve unity with God, but to gain closeness to God as His servant. This is because in the *pesantren* the theology

of al-Ash'ari, which teaches the uniqueness of God from His creatures, is dominant. The *sharī'ah* is never ignored in the *pesantren* and the full weight of its importance is unfailingly emphasised because Sufism cannot replace the *sharī'ah*. To become a Sufi, a person must first understand and practise the *sharī'ah*. It is important to stress that the teachings of Sufi orders particularly those of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order, also acquiesce in the teachings of al-Ghazālī.

The *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order, the most widespread Sufi order in Java, was established by Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas in Mecca during the nineteenth century. From Mecca the Sufi order was brought to Java through three *khalīfah* (vice-regents) of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas, namely, Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim Banten, Shaykh Talhah Cirebon, Shaykh Wahab Hasb Allah Madura and their students. This Sufi order played a significant role in the 1888 revolt in Banten. Although only a small number of *pesantren* specialise in the propagation and development of Sufi orders in Java, it is through the *pesantren* that the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order has spread so comprehensively and been maintained in Java. Pesantren al-Falak Pangentongan, Pesantren Futuhiyah Mranggen, Pesantren Darul Ulum Rejoso, and Pesantren Suryalaya are four famous *pesantren* which have become major centres of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in Java.

The role of the *pesantren* in the maintenance of Sufism in Java is exemplified by two famous *pesantren*: Pesantren Tebuireng and Pesantren Suryalaya. These *pesantren* are very different from one another. The former was established to educate its students to become *'ulamā'*. The latter was established as a centre for the teaching and propagation of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order and therefore aims to educate its students to become Sufis. In the field of education Pesantren Tebureing enjoys a well-earned reputation for its reforms. In contrast, Pesantren Suryalaya only began to establish its *madrasah* (Islamic school) and schools in the late 1950s. Today, both *pesantren* have various schools and a university, functioning alongside their traditional *bandongan* system of instruction. The schools include both Islamic schools (*madrasah*) and general (secular) schools.

Pesantren Tebuireng, which is famous as a *pesantren sharī'ah* maintains the teachings of Sufism. Prayers, *dhikir*, and *wirid* similar to those practised in Sufi orders are followed in Pesantren Tebuireng. Similarly, Sufi teachings such as *zuhud* (asceticism), *wara'* (abstinence), *tawaḍḍu'* (modesty), *ikhlas* (sincerity), *sabar* (patience) and so forth are maintained in the *pesantren*. Pesantren Tebuireng also played an indirect role in the spread of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order in East Java. Cogently one of its functions is to control the practices of the leaders and followers of the Sufi order, guarding them from any deviation from orthodox Sufi teachings and Islamic

doctrines, and simultaneously the *pesantren* produces the teachers and followers of the Sufi order. The majority of *khalīfah* (vice-regents, successors) of the order in East Java graduated from Pesantren Tebureing, bearing witness to the efficacy of the *pesantren* in the instruction of its students in the teachings of Sufism. In short, it would be fair to claim that the development of Sufi orders has been heavily dependent on *pesantren*. All *khalīfah* and leaders of Sufi orders are *pesantren* graduates and there is no Sufi order in Java that could have spread without the support of *pesantren*.

Since the beginning of its establishment, Pesantren Suryalaya has become a centre of the teaching of the *Qādiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah* Order. Under the leadership of Abah Anom the *pesantren* has achieved significant progress. Benefitting from the influence of Abah Anom, the *pesantren* has thousands of followers and more than twenty representatives throughout Southeast Asia. The followers of the *pesantren* consist of people from various social strata: farmers; civil servants; artists and so forth. Aware of its place in the modern world, Pesantren Suryalaya is now known for its *Pondok Remaja Inabah*, a centre for the treatment of narcotics addicts and delinquent youths. In any survey of the process of Islamisation in Java it is important to recognise that *pesantren tarekat* such as Suryalaya perform the primary function of a *pesantren*, which is to spread Islamic culture to villagers who do not have the opportunity to acquire an education or training at a *pesantren*. Generally speaking, *pesantren* recruit young students who are a minority group in the population, while followers of Sufi orders come from an older age group, which may not necessarily have studied at a *pesantren*.

GLOSSARY

Abangan	:	nominal Javanese Muslims; the term is used in some areas of Central and East Java and sometimes has negative connotations.
Ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah	:	Sunni distinguished from the Shī'ah; in Java it refers to traditional Islam which basically follows Ash'arite theology, Shafi'ite *fiqh* and al-Ghazālī's Sufism.
Ajengan	:	Islamic teachers or kyai among the Sundanese.
Akhlāq	:	Islamic morality, ethics.
'Amal jāriyah	:	contributions of wealth to facilitate the carrying out of God's purposes, for which the reward continues after the contributors' death.
Amanat	:	trust.
'Aqīdah	:	faith; Islamic theology.
Badal	:	deputy of *shaykh* in Sufi orders.
Bay'ah	:	vow of allegiance.
Balāghah	:	Arabic literature.
Bandongan (or *wetonan*)	:	traditional group system of learning; a system of learning in which a group of students ranging in number from five to five hundred listens to a teacher who reads, translates, and explains the Arabic texts.

Barakah (or *berkat*)	:	blessing or reward from God.
Batin	:	internal.
Ceramah	:	religious talk; speech.
Da'wah	:	Muslim missionary activity.
Dhikir (*al-dhikr*)	:	remembrance or recollection of God's names.
Dīn	:	religion, surrender, which refers to Islam in the most general sense.
Du'ā'	:	prayer for a blessing from God.
Al-Fātiḥah	:	the first Chapter of the Qur'ān.
Fiqh	:	Islamic jurisprudence; law.
Ḥalāl	:	legal, permitted according to Islamic jurisprudence.
Ḥajj	:	the pilgrimage to Mecca.
Haji	:	title for Muslims who performed a pilgrimage in Mecca.
Ḥadīth	:	the Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad; report of the Prophet's words, deeds, and matters of which he approved and disaproved.
Ḥarām	:	illegal; strictly forbidden according to Islamic jurisprudence.
Haul	:	anniversary of the birth of the Founder of a Sufi order or a *kyai*.
'ibādah	:	worship; obedience with absolute humility.

Iblīs	:	evil (personified).
Ihsān	:	to do something good; to obey and carry out God's commands in the best way, the highest level of religious life in Islam.
Ijazah	:	licence to teach Sufi teachings and initiate new disciples.
Ijmā'	:	consensus of *'ulamā'*, used as a source of Islamic jurisprudence.
Ikhlas (al-ikhlās)	:	sincerity; to obey God sincerely and only for His pleasure.
Ilmu alat	:	"knowledge tool"; Arabic grammar.
Ilmu kikmah	:	magical knowledge acquired by the collection of prayers.
Ilmu ladunni	:	knowledge that is not learned but is granted by God.
Imām	:	leader of communal prayers.
Iman	:	faith; belief.
Islam	:	submission; performing basic Islamic rituals including the five basic principles of Islam.
Ishā'	:	night prayer.
Istighāthah	:	*dhikir* that mentions some of the Ninety-Nine Attributes of God.
Istighfār	:	forgiveness; to recite "I seek forgiveness from God, the Forgiver and the Merciful".

I'tiqād	:	belief.
Jihād	:	commonly holy war; literally "the struggle in the path of God".
Kalimah ṭayyibah	:	the words "*lā ilāh illā Allāh*" (there is no god but God).
Kampung	:	subdivision of village.
Karāmah (or *keramat*)	:	honour; miracles granted to wali or kyai.
Kashf	:	intuition; literally the raising of a curtain or veil.
Kebatinan (or *kejawen* or *kepercayaan*)	:	Javanese mysticism.
Kecamatan	:	sub-district.
Khalīfah	:	vice-regent; successor to the *Shaykh* of Sufi order.
Khanāqah (*zāwiyah* or *ribāṭ*)	:	cloister or centre for a Sufi order.
Khataman	:	weekly rituals.
Kitab	:	book.
Kitab kuning	:	"yellow book"; books in Arabic script.
Kyai	:	a title for Muslim scholars in Java who generally lead a pesantren.
Khushū'	:	feeling of intimacy with and remembrance of God.
Lahir (or *ẓāhir*)	:	external.
Laṭīfah (pl. *laṭā'if*)	:	subtlety.

Madrasah	:	Islamic schools organised on the basis of the Western educational system.
Maghrib	:	sunset prayer.
Makruh	:	undesirable.
Maḥabbah	:	love.
Maḥfūẓ	:	protected by God from committing serious sin.
Manaqiban	:	monthly ritual in which the Excellences of the Founder of Sufi order are recited.
Ma'rifah	:	knowledge; gnosis.
Mauludan	:	ceremony of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday.
Muballigh	:	Islamic preachers.
Murāqabah	:	contemplation.
Murshid	:	teacher in Sufi orders.
Mushāhadah	:	spiritual witness.
Nafsu	:	passion.
Naḥw	:	Arabic syntax.
Pancasila	:	Five Basic Principles; the ideological and political foundation of the Republic of Indonesia.
Pesantren	:	traditional Islamic school; Islamic cultural institution.
Pondok	:	hostel; student residences in the pesantren complex.

Priyayi	:	members of the Javanese bureaucratic class.
Puasa (or *ṣaum*)	:	fasting.
Qiyās	:	analogy; analogical reasoning in Islamic jurisprudence.
Riḍā	:	pleasure.
Riyā'	:	worship for human respect.
Sabar	:	patience.
Ṣalāh (or *salat*)	:	the prescribed form of prayer in Islam.
Salawat	:	invocation to the Prophet Muhammad.
Santri	:	students of *pesantren*; pious Muslims in Java.
Ṣarf	:	Arabic morphology.
Shahādah	:	the Confession of Faith.
Shaykh	:	teacher and leader of Sufi order.
Sharī'ah	:	formal dimension of Islam.
Shirk	:	heretic, associating other beings and powers with God.
Silat	:	traditional self-defence arts.
Silsilah	:	chain; a spiritual chain connecting the followers of a Sufi order with all teachers and founders of the order back to the Prophet.
Sorogan	:	traditional individual system of learning.

Sunnah (or *sunnat*)	:	recommended; *sunnah* is similar to *ḥadīth*, the way the Prophet lived.
Tafsīr	:	Qur'ānic exegesis.
Takabbur	:	arrogance.
Talqīn	:	imparting of secret instruction to a new member of the Sufi order.
Tanbīh	:	religious admonition.
Taqwā	:	piety, god-wariness.
Tarīqah (or *Tarekat*)	:	path to God, Sufi order.
Taṣawwuf	:	Sufism.
Tauḥīd	:	belief in unity of God, Islamic theology.
Tawaḍḍu'	:	modesty, humility.
Tawajjuh	:	ecstatic union.
Tawakkal	:	trust in and reliance upon God.
Tawassul	:	pronouncing *shaykh* or teacher as mediator in ritual.
'Ulamā'	:	Muslim scholars.
Waḥdah al-wujūd	:	the unity of existence; pantheism.
Wajib	:	obligatory.
Wali	:	friends of God; Muslim saints.
Wali Sanga	:	Nine Saints, said to have introduced Islam to Java.
Wara'	:	abstinence.

Wasiat	:	exhortation.
Wirid	:	routine programme of *dhikir*.
Zakat	:	obligatory almsgiving.
Ziarah	:	visitation of graves.
Zuhud	:	asceticism.

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Kantor Perwakilan Universitas Leiden
Villa 'Siti Andalusia'
Ciputat 15411

IAIN

SYAIKH ABDURRAHMAN SIDDIK
BANGKA BELITUNG

Indonesian-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies (INIS)
ISBN 979-8116-63-1